

# THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. XXIX.

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MARCH, 1843.

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## ARTICLE I.

### LIFE AND TIMES OF BAXTER.

AMONG the names which it is good to repeat, we know of none more inspiring, as an example of ministerial devotedness, than that of **RICHARD BAXTER**. Known to the mass of society, in every land where the English tongue is spoken, as the author of two of the most useful volumes in the religious literature of that language, rich as that literature is, he deserves to be remembered by the youthful pastor as a signal example of ministerial fidelity, and power, and success, even had he never written the *Call to the Unconverted*, or that gem of devout genius, the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. And, bequeathing, as he did, not only the lustre of a brilliant example, but, the rules of his own ministerial career, in his treatise, "*The Reformed Pastor*," he has acquired a title to be among those first named, whenever the eyes of the rising ministry are directed to the earlier worthies of the church.

There is much in the character of the age to which he belonged to make it deserving of profound study. Seasons of revolution, by affording the requisite emergencies, and opening a freer path to talent, are fertile in great men. His was an era of revolution, alike in the political and in the moral elements of society. The English throne was overturned, to be replaced by a republic, itself followed by the Protectorate, which gave place to a restoration of the Stuarts, soon to be expelled by the revolution of 1688. In science, the methods

of Bacon, now first practically applied, were working momentous changes. It was the age in which flourished his great disciple, Boyle, and in which were trained up Newton and Locke, who attempted, with such splendid power, to carry out the principles of Bacon into the world of matter and the world of mind. Then, too, it was that Milton gave to the literature of England his great epic, yet standing in unapproached and unapproachable grandeur.

To the inhabitants of this country it must ever seem a momentous era, as being the age in English history out of which the creative hand of Divine Providence took the mass with which he formed the elements of American freedom, and in which lay the germs of our religious, political, and social character. The England of those times was the Eden in which were formed the Adam and Eve of the New England colonies. And as matter, not of self-gratulation, but of devout gratitude, it deserves to be remembered, that the national mind in our ancestral land was never of such sinewy manliness, so deeply penetrated by conscientious feeling, and so thoroughly suffused with scriptural knowledge, so racy and so pure, as in this, the era of our birth as a people.

To the Christian scholar, the period is one teeming with interest. In the church, no less than the world, it was an era of remarkable men, and yet more remarkable events. In the interval, stretching from the reign of the First to that of the Second James, there appeared some of the strongest and holiest minds of the modern church. Never before or since, it is probable, was the Bible so thoroughly and devoutly studied by the British nation, as during that time. The effect was seen in the talent, and principle, and prowess of the statesmen, the scholars, the divines, the preachers, and the heroes that then adorned "the sea-girt isle." In biblical science, it was then that Walton elaborated his Polyglott, and Lightfoot accumulated his stores of rabbinical lore, and then, that flourished Castell and Pocock. Usher, and Selden, and Gataker, and Gale, and Pool, the giants of the schools, were in the pulpits, aided by other laborers, whose writings and preachings have scarce been surpassed in power over the conscience and the heart.

In the bounds of the English Establishment, a memorable revolution was undergone, not less entire or wondrous, and more lasting, than that which tore up the foundations, and for



a time altered the whole frame-work of the national government. The accession of James I had found the British church divided between two parties. On the one side was the body of the high-churchmen, of whom Laud became the head, the friends of arbitrary power, sticklers for order; in doctrine, the patrons of Arminianism, lovers of ceremony, pomp and tradition, laying the utmost stress upon Episcopal ordination, and carrying to its farthest limits the Episcopal power, and accused, not without specious grounds, of a strong leaning to Romanism. With them were the court and the star-chamber. On the opposite side stood the Puritans, Calvinists in doctrine, of the most austere morals, and the most exemplary pastors, and the most popular preachers of the country; many of them friendly to ministerial parity, but all more strenuous for piety of heart, than any external conformity to the rites of the church; and, finally, the dauntless advocates of political freedom, to whom Hume traces its origin in the English Constitution. With these were the body of the Parliament, the hearts of the people, and the grace of God. In the days of the Commonwealth, the leaders of the high-church party lost all power. Laud, their chief, perished on the scaffold, and Episcopacy itself was abrogated. The Puritans, those of them at least who favored ministerial parity, were now in prosperity; but shared it with many new communities, that, scattered by persecution and driven into close retirement during the days of the star-chamber, now burst into notice, and won rapidly both numbers and power. The Restoration drove the mass of the Puritans, with these other sects, into nonconformity; exiling from the Establishment a body of men as able and pious as it has ever possessed. But the national establishment was thus relieved of one party, only to receive another of far different character. The high-churchmen, of Laud's spirit, triumphed for a time in the court of the restored Stuarts; but their intolerance, and bigotry, and general inferiority of character, soon yielded to the superior talents and reputation of a body that sprung up in the bosom of the church during the Commonwealth, the latitudinarian divines, as they were commonly called. The growth of skepticism led them to study the outworks of Christian evidence. Against infidelity and popery they did good service in the cause of truth. Their dread of enthusiasm made them frigid, and their mastery of the ancient philosophy

made them profound. Their doctrines were generally Arminian. Their notions of church power were less rigid than those of the rival party, and they were also more tolerant of difference in opinion. But in their preaching they laid the whole stress, well nigh, of their efforts, upon morals, to the neglect of doctrine; and in theology, they attributed to human reason a strength and authority, which gradually opened the way to the invasion of the gravest heresies. Of generally purer character than their opponents, they were also abler preachers. But while valuable as moral treatises, their sermons were most defective; for the peculiar doctrines and spirit of the gospel were evaporated. Such were the low-churchmen of this time. The revolution under William threw many of the high-church party into the ranks of the nonjurors, from their attachment to the Stuart family, and lost them their posts in the church; while it left those who remained still in the national Establishment, a weaker and a discredited party. The latitudinarian divines gradually rose to an undisputed ascendancy, and gave to the whole of the church their principles, until Whitefield and Wesley found the nation, under their influence, and their preaching of a morality well nigh dissevered from the gospel of the cross, rocked into insensibility, drenched with spiritual lethargy, and threatened by a wide-spreading profligacy, and the rapid growth of infidelity. Thus it was that, with articles and formularies remaining entirely unchanged, the English Establishment, in the commencement of Baxter's day, was divided between the high-churchmen and the Puritans. At the close of his stormy career, he saw it still divided; but the combatants were now the high-churchmen and their latitudinarian brethren. At the first of his course, the church had been rent between order and piety. At the last, the controversy was between order and morality. For, excellent as were many of the latitudinarian divines,—their Burnets, and their Tillotsons, and their Cudworths, they all resorted too often to the teachings of the Mr. Worldly Wiseman, the Mr. Legality, and that "pretty young man, his son," Mr. Civility, who have become known to us in Bunyan's matchless allegory. The low-churchman of the first period was then a very different being from the low-churchman of the second. The former quoted the Scriptures, and clung to the Reformers, and leaned on their own articles and liturgy.

The latter gave to reason undue honor, and relied too blindly on the aid of philosophy. The revolution thus accomplished in the church is of interest on many accounts. It proves how little power may exist in the boasted uniformity of an Establishment and its unchangeable formularies. It is a study of interest, too, in our days, because the Oxford theology, now so deeply agitating the Christians of England, is but a re-appearance of those high-church principles that culminated under Laud, Parker, and Sancroft, but waning before the superior brightness of the rival school, had seemed, for almost an entire century, lost from the heavens, and vanished not to return.

There were other revolutions in this age of change, of more genial influence on the cause of freedom and human happiness. The most important of these was the discovery and enunciation of that great truth, the right of religious freedom. Religious toleration, promulgated, and to a certain extent practised, under the republic and under Cromwell, cruelly restricted under the Stuarts, was finally established by the revolution of 1688. In preparing the way for this momentous change, it is the glory of our own denomination of Christians to have labored most efficiently. They contended for what was then deemed a portentous heresy. Featly himself, a man of piety, but of bitter zeal, and an inveterate opponent of our body, published that the Baptists were laboring for the utmost freedom of the press, and for unlimited toleration,—“damnable doctrines,” as he termed them, for which he would have them “exterminated from the kingdom.”

To the Baptist, then, the age of Baxter is a memorable one. The period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate was the season in which our distinguishing sentiments, heretofore the hidden treasures of a few solitary confessors, became the property of the people. Through weary years they had been held by a few in deep retirement, and at the peril of their lives; now they began rapidly working their way and openly into the masses of society. The army that won for Cromwell his “crowning mercies,” as he called those splendid victories which assured the power of the Parliament, became deeply tinged with our views of Christian faith and order. They were not, as military bodies have so often been, a band of mercenary hirelings, the sweepings of society, gleaned from the ale-house and the kennel, or snatched from the jail and

due to the gallows; but they were composed chiefly of substantial yeomanry, men who entered the ranks from principle rather than for gain, and whose chief motive for enlistment was that they believed the impending contest one for religious truth and for the national liberties, a war in the strictest sense *pro aris et focis*. Clarendon himself allows their superiority, in morals and character, to the royalist forces. In this army the officers were many of them accustomed to preach; and both commanders and privates were continually busied in searching the Scriptures, in prayers, and in Christian conference. The result of the biblical studies and free communings of these intrepid, high-principled men was that they became, a large portion of them, Baptists. As to their character, the splendid eulogy they won from Milton may counterbalance the coarse caricatures of poets and novelists, who saw them less closely, and disliked their piety too strongly, to judge dispassionately their merits.

Major General Harrison, one of their most distinguished leaders, was a Baptist. He was long the bosom friend of Cromwell; and became alienated from him only on discovering that the Protector sought triumph, not so much for principle, as for his own personal aggrandizement. Favorable to liberty, and inaccessible to flattering promises of power, he became the object of suspicion to Cromwell, who again and again threw him into prison. On the return of the Stuarts, his share in the death of Charles I, among whose judges he had sat, brought him to the scaffold; where his gallant bearing and pious triumph formed a close not unsuitable to the career he had run. Others of the king's judges, and of the eminent officers of the army, belonged to the same communion. Some of these sympathized only, it is true, with their views of freedom, and seem not to have embraced their religious sentiments. Among this class was Ludlow, a major-general under Cromwell, an ardent republican, and who, being of the regicides, sought a refuge, where he ended his days, in Switzerland. He was accounted the head, at one time, of the Baptist party in Ireland. Such was their interest, that Baxter complains, that many of the soldiers in that kingdom became Baptists, as the way to preferment. (Orme, I, 135.) The chancellor of Ireland under Cromwell was also of our body; Lilburne, one of Cromwell's colonels, and brother of



the restless and impracticable John Lilburne, was also of their number. Overton, the friend of Milton, whom Cromwell in 1651 left second in command in Scotland, was also ranked as acting with them, as also Okey and Alured. Col. Mason, the governor of Jersey, belonged to the Baptists, and still others of Cromwell's officers. Penn, one of the admirals of the English navy, but now better known as the father of the celebrated Quaker, was a Baptist. Indeed, in Cromwell's own family their influence was formidable; and Fleetwood, one of his generals and his son-in-law, was accused of leaning too much to their interests as a political party.\* The English matron, whose memoirs form one of the most delightful narratives of that stirring time, and who in her own character presented one of the loveliest specimens of Christian womanhood, Lucy Hutchinson, a name of love and admiration wherever known, became a Baptist. She did so, together with her husband, one of the judges of Charles I, and the governor of Nottingham Castle for the Parliament, from the perusal of the Scriptures. Of no inferior rank in society, for Hutchinson was a kinsman of the Byrons of Newstead, the family whence sprung the celebrated poet, their talents, and patriotism, and Christian graces, and domestic virtues, throw round that pair the lustre of a higher nobility than heralds can confer, and a dignity, compared with which the splendor of royalty and the trappings of victory are poor indeed.

The ministry of our denomination comprised, too, men of high character; some, unhappily, but too much busied in the political strifes of the age, but others whose learning and talent were brought to bear more exclusively on their appropriate work. Tombes, the antagonist of Baxter, Bampfield, Gosnold, Knolles, Denne and Jessey, all Baptist preachers, had held priestly orders in the English established church; Gosnold being one of the most popular ministers in London, with a congregation of 3000; and Jessey, a Christian whose acquirements and talents, piety and liberality won him general respect. Kiffin, a merchant whose wealth and the excellence of his private character had given him influence among the princely traders of London, and introduced him to the court

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\* To their influence as a political party, too, Baxter explicitly attributes that event which caused shuddering on every throne of Europe, the execution of Charles I, the monarch whom he loved. To them he also traces the invasion of Scotland; in short, the chief events which hurried on the subversion of monarchy and the establishment of a republic.

of the Stuarts, was pastor of a Baptist church in that city. Cox, another of our ministers at this time, is said by Baxter to have been the son of a bishop; and Collins, another pastor among us, had in his youth been a pupil of Busby. De Veil, a convert from Judaism, who had, both with the Romish church of France, and in the Episcopal church of England, been regarded with much respect, and, in the former, been applauded by no less a man than the eloquent and powerful Bossuet, became a Baptist preacher, and closed his life and labors in the bosom of our communion. Dell, a chaplain of Lord Fairfax, and who was, until the Restoration, head of one of the colleges in the university of Cambridge, was also a Baptist minister. Although they deemed literature no indispensable preparation for the ministry (nor did the church of the first centuries), the Baptists under Cromwell, and the Stuarts, were not destitute of educated men. Out of the bounds of England, Vavasor Powell, the Baptist, was evangelizing Wales with a fearlessness and activity that have won him, at times, the title of its apostle; and, on our own shores, Roger Williams, another Baptist, was founding Rhode Island, giving of the great doctrine of religious liberty a visible type. Our sentiments were also winning deference from minds that were not converted to our views. Milton, with a heresy ever to be deprecated and lamented, had adopted most fully our principles of baptism. Jeremy Taylor, a name of kindred genius, in a work which he intended but as the apology of toleration, stated so strongly the arguments for our distinguishing views, that it cost himself and the divines of his party much labor to counteract the influence of the reasonings: while Barlow, afterwards also a bishop, and celebrated for his share in the liberation of Bunyan, addressed to Tombes a letter stongly in favor of our peculiarities. Such progress in reputation and influence was not observed without jealousy. Baxter laments that those who, at first, were but a few in the city and the army, had within two or three years grown into a multitude (*Works*, xx, 297); and asserts that they had so far got into power as to seek for dominion, and to expect, many of them, that the baptized saints should judge the world, and the millennium come. And Baillie, a commissioner from Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, a man of strong sense, and the ardor of whose piety cannot be questioned, though he was a bitter sectarian, complained that the Baptists

were growing more rapidly than any sect in the land ; while Lightfoot's diary of the proceedings of the same Assembly proves that similar complaints were brought before that venerable body.

Some would naturally, as in the history of the early Christians, be attracted to a rising sect, who were themselves unprincipled men. Lord Howard, the betrayer of the patriot Russell, was said to have been, in one period of his shifting and reckless course, a Baptist preacher. Another, whose exact character it is difficult to ascertain, perverting, as royalist prejudices did, even his name for the purposes of ridicule, Barebones, the speaker of Cromwell's parliament, is said to have been a Baptist preacher in London. Others, again, of the body were tinged with extravagances ; some joined with other Christians of the time in the confident expectation of what they termed the Fifth Monarchy, Christ's personal reign on the earth. In the changes of the day, and they were many and wondrous, they saw the tokens of Christ's speedy approach to found a universal empire, following in the train of the four great monarchies of the prophet's vision. It is to the credit of Bunyan, that he discerned and denounced the error. Then, as in all ages of the church, it was but too common for the interpreters of prophecy to become prophets. Others, again, were moved from their steadfastness by Quakerism, which then commenced its course ; while others adopted the views of the Seekers, a party who denied the existence of any pure and true church, and were waiting its establishment yet to come. In this last class of religionists was the younger Sir Henry Vane, the illustrious patriot and statesman so beautifully panegyricized in a sonnet of Milton, and from his talents dreaded alike by Cromwell and the Stuarts, and the friend of Roger Williams. The founder of Rhode Island seems himself, in later life, to have imbibed similar views.

Yet with all these mingling disadvantages, and they are but such heresies and scandals as marked the earliest and purest times of Christianity, that era in our history is one to which we may well turn with devout gratitude, and bless God for our fathers. In literature, it is honor enough that our sentiments were held by the two men who displayed, beyond all comparison, the most creative genius in that age of English literature, Milton and Bunyan. In the cause of religious and political freedom, it was the lot of our community to labor,



none the less effectively because they did it obscurely, with Keach, doomed to the pillory, or, like Delaune, perishing in the dungeon. The opinions, as to religious freedom, then professed by our churches, were not only denounced by statesmen as rebellion, but by grave divines as the most fearful heresy. Through evil and through good report they persevered, until what had clothed them with obloquy became, in the hands of later scholars and more practised writers, as Locke, a badge of honor and a diadem of glory. Nor should it be forgotten, that these views were not with them, as with some others, professed in the time of persecution, and virtually retracted when power had been won. Such was, alas, the course of names no less illustrious than Stillingfleet and Taylor. But the day of prosperity and political influence was, with our churches, the day for their most earnest dissemination. Their share, in shoring up the falling liberties of England, and in infusing new vigor and liberality into the constitution of that country, is not yet generally acknowledged. It is scarce even known. The dominant party in the church and the state, at the Restoration, became the historians; and "when the man, and not the lion, was thus the painter," it was easy to foretell with what party all the virtues, all the talents, and all the triumphs, would be found. When our principles shall have won their way to more general acceptance, the share of Baptists in the achievements of that day will be disinterred, like many other forgotten truths, from the ruins of history. Then it will, we believe, be found, that while dross, such as has alloyed the purest churches in the best ages, may have been found in some of our denomination, yet the body was composed of pure and scriptural Christians, who contended manfully, some with bitter sufferings, for the rights of conscience, and the truth as it is in Jesus: that to them English liberty owes a debt it has never acknowledged; and that amongst them Christian freedom found its earliest and some of its stanchest, its most consistent, and its most disinterested champions. Had they continued ascending the heights of political influence, it had been perhaps disastrous to their spiritual interests; for when did the disciples of Christ long enjoy power or prosperity, without some deterioration of their graces? He who, as we may be allowed to hope, loved them with an everlasting love, and watched over their welfare with a sleepless care, threw them back, in the subsequent



convulsions of the age, into the obscure and lowly stations of life, because in such scenes he had himself delighted to walk, and in these retired paths it has ever been his wont to lead his flock.

We may have seemed to wander far from our topic ; but the digression may be forgiven, as illustrating the circumstances of Baxter's time, and the influences to which he with others was subjected ; the conflicting tides along which he floated, or which he strenuously buffeted ; while showing also why to the Baptist his age must be ever full of interest. Let us pass to consider the man himself.

Born in the year 1615, of a father, who was a respectable freeholder, Baxter found in the piety of home some counterpoise to the profanity of the neighborhood, and the negligence and dissoluteness that infested even the pulpits of the surrounding district. Although he showed much of seriousness in early life, reproving the sins of other children, he did not believe himself converted until attaining the age of fifteen ; when books, to which he elsewhere declares he owes the chief advantages of his life, fixed his impressions. The work of a Jesuit, revised by a Puritan, was the first of these treatises ; and the writings also of Sibbes greatly benefited him. His early education was irregular ; and, though afterwards prepared for the university, he never entered it, owing his chief attainments to the resolute application of later years. Like his contemporary, Bunyan, he met, in his opening course as a Christian, one of the severest of trials, in the apostasy of an intimate friend, who sank back into irreligion, and became an open mocker of that piety he had once seemed to exemplify. Just at the date of his conversion, he was offered an introduction at court ; but soon forsook an atmosphere little congenial to his feelings. Failing health and the expectation of early death gave to all the studies in which he now plunged, a practical tendency. It is the snare, even of the best conducted and best guarded forms of theological education, that the scholar may insensibly learn to fix his mind but on the theory of religion, and, losing its spirit, forfeit its blessings. The man who sees the grave at his feet is less likely thus to err. Death in near view gave to Baxter a conscientiousness in the selection of his themes of study, and a devout earnestness in their meditation. Redemption and judgment were not mere theories to a man who looked

soon to swell the harpings of the ransomed, or the howlings of the lost. From the age of twenty-one to twenty-three, he hardly expected to survive a single year. Still, anxious to employ the little fragment of time that might remain, he entered the ministry, receiving Episcopal ordination. It was afterwards his regret, that he had not duly studied the question of Episcopacy. His first labors were at Dudley, where, for a year, he was also the schoolmaster, and where his studies began to incline him to Nonconformity. New oaths imposed on the clergy to repress the spirit of Puritanism, yet more revolted him. At Bridgnorth he labored with applause, but without fruit, among a people already hardened by a faithful ministry, that had not profited them. He soon became, however, lecturer and curate at Kidderminster, with a people rude and ignorant; but whom he preferred, from a resolution he had made never to settle with a people whose conscience had been once hardened under an awakening ministry. In this field he labored at first but two years, when the civil war broke out, and the more disorderly of his hearers, incensed against him for his faithfulness, made his stay at Kidderminster dangerous; for, from the basest slanders, they proceeded actually to attempt his life. Thus driven from a station which was yet to become memorable as the parish of Baxter, he labored for two years in Coventry, receiving but a bare support. Here he disputed strenuously against the Baptists, then making proselytes. Cox, his antagonist, and whom Baxter describes as no contemptible scholar, and as the son of a bishop, was thrown into prison, though not with the will of Baxter. The result of this unhappy appeal to that royal syllogism, the argument from compulsion, was the planting of a Baptist church at Coventry, which has continued to our times. Baxter now consulted with his brethren in the ministry as to his entering the army, there to counteract the sectarian influence that was rapidly triumphing. His zeal, and piety, and popular eloquence, and powers of disputation, seem to have made him already eminent. By the advice of his friends, he became a chaplain in the regiment of Col. Whalley, a kinsman of Cromwell, one of the judges on the trial of the king, and the same whose flight to our country, and concealment here, forms one of the most romantic incidents in the early history of New England. Cromwell, who knew Baxter's dislike to his views

of general toleration, now looked coolly on the man whom he had once admired, and had invited in earlier years to become the chaplain of his own regiment. At the close of the war, Baxter returned again to his beloved Kidderminster, where he remained now about fourteen years; and, by a series of pastoral labors of surpassing faithfulness, made the connection between his own name and the parish an inseparable one in the memory of the church. Such may be the mighty effects of a few years in the career of a zealous pastor; for the whole term spent by Baxter in this, the vineyard of his affections, comprised little more than a fifth of his life-time. His memory is yet most fragrant there, after the lapse of more than a century; and the fruits of his influence are said to be yet traceable. He had found the spot a moral waste. He toiled, prayed, wept, gave and endured, until the wilderness blossomed as the garden of the Lord. Profanity and irreligion possessed it at his first entrance. In the civil wars, however, the same brutish herd that had driven their pastor from his post, nearly all perished; and, on his restoration to his parish, these former obstacles were found to have disappeared. He had at first found scarce a family in an entire street, who were accustomed to the regular worship of God in the home. Ere he left, there were many streets, in which not one family was without its altar; and the passing stranger heard the chorus of prayer and praise swelling on either hand, as he walked past the threshold. In a parish of eight hundred families, numbering four thousand souls, his communicants became in number six hundred; of whom there were, he declared, scarce twelve, of whose conversion he had not good hope. Incessant and systematic visitation, and the catechetical instruction of every family, whatever their ages, were united to much earnest preaching. His labors were amazing. He gave himself to the ministry of the word, to prayer, and to fasting. In addition, Baxter ministered freely to the wants of the poor among his flock from his own substance; while of his small stipend, through his lenity in exacting his legal dues, not one half ever reached his hands. He educated, too, poorer children; and some, having been thus brought by him through the university, entered for themselves upon the ministry. All this was not enough to satisfy this heart of fire, and occupy his iron diligence. For the space of five or six years

he was the physician of his flock, not to eke out by its revenues a scanty stipend, but from mere kindness ; for his advice and aid were alike without charge. When he looked round upon his congregation, he saw in the greater part those who had owed health, and many of them life, to his assistance. This could not but endear him to the most insensible. He was, amid all this, a writer ; and of each of his smaller works, gave one copy to every family of his charge ; while each poor household, unable themselves to obtain it, he supplied with a Bible. Nor did he limit his labors to these bounds. He preached with the neighboring ministers in surrounding districts : and, as an author, he became famous through the land ; while his example of pastoral fidelity and success excited many to admire, and some to imitate, his methods. Such was Richard Baxter amid his people ; and, had his infirmities been both more, and more aggravated than they were, devotedness so rare must win from every member of the true church, whatever his name among men, an earnest and emphatic blessing. God grant to every evangelical community many in his likeness.

During the Protectorate, Baxter never disguised his adherence to the royal family ; preached against Cromwell ; and, when once admitted to an interview with the man whose very name made Mazarine to turn pale, and whose power awed all Europe, Baxter told the Protector, with his usual intrepidity, that the people of England believed their ancient monarchy a blessing ; nor did they know what they had done to forfeit its advantages. When the Restoration was now concerted, Baxter was selected to preach before the Parliament, when preparing for the act. Upon the return of Charles II, he was appointed a chaplain to the king, and was offered a mitre in the establishment, if he would conform. But the Episcopal crozier and stall had no temptation to such a spirit. He asked but for the privilege of returning to his beloved Kidderminster ; and when this was denied, sued for permission to labor there without a stipend. But it was in vain ; and this man, whose loyalty had been so eminent, was permitted to preach but twice or thrice to these, his attached and beloved flock. Returning now to London, he continued to preach as he obtained opportunity. On St. Bartholomew's day, the decree of stern exclusion drove from the communion of the Established Church two thousand of her worthiest and ablest ministers.



Their altars they forego, their homes they quit,  
Fields which they loved and paths they daily trod,  
And cast the future upon Providence.      WORDSWORTH.

Among these confessors, Baxter, the man who had rejected a bishopric for conscience' sake, was found abandoning, what he prized far more highly, the liberty of preaching the gospel. Removed to London, he still continued to publish his message as a Christian minister, amid continual risks and vexations, watched by informers, and accused of sedition. Five times in fifteen years thrown into prison, his goods distrained, and driven from one residence to another, amid weakness, and pain, and persecution, Baxter toiled on. From his books, of which he says in language of simple pathos, there was little he valued more upon earth, he was separated. Compelled first to conceal, and afterwards to sell them, he describes himself as being for twelve years driven more than one hundred miles from his library. He seemed to regret it, even when drawing near the end, to use his own words, "of that life that needeth books." The times in which he lived were full of gloomy omens. A dissolute court, where the royal mistresses rioted in scenes of the most aggravated profusion and profligacy; a king who, while sworn to guard the liberties of Britain, was receiving the pay of France, and while presiding at the head of a Protestant establishment, was, in truth, long since united to the Romish church; a divided cabinet, and a persecuting hierarchy, and a most debauched nobility, were not the only evils that saddened the heart of a Christian patriot. The judgments of God, signal and wide-spread, had fallen on the chief city of the empire; and plague and fire seemed commissioned to punish what could not be reformed. When a measure of liberty was given, Baxter procured a meeting-house; but was again sued, fined and cast into prison. In the reign of James II, he was selected as a great Nonconformist leader, to become the more eminent victim, and an example of terror to the land. His Notes on the New Testament were searched for passages to which a seditious tendency might be imputed. Bitter might well be the language in which he there occasionally spoke of Christian dignitaries, thus restricting from their beloved work, men, their equals in talent, and often far their superiors in piety and usefulness. He was brought before the inhuman Jeffreys, one of the most brutal judges that ever

disgraced the English bench, even in that day of judicial corruption; a man of coarse strength of mind, the vigorous and unscrupulous tool of tyranny. Threatened and maligned with the coarsest virulence, he was sentenced to a heavy fine; the infuriated Jeffreys regretting only that it was not in his power to hang him. Baxter now spent about two years in prison; but amid sickness and pain, and the gathering evils of age, Baxter was a laborer still, and still cheerful. "What could I desire more of God," said he to a friend, "than having served him to my utmost, now to suffer for him?" A change in the measures of the court opened his prison doors. He lived to see the Revolution, and survived that day of deliverance to the Nonconformist churches three years; having reached, through sufferings, perils and toils, the age of seventy-six.

Amid the anguish of complicated disorders, his death-bed was a scene of serene triumph. When asked in his latter days, as his strength waned and the hour of his dismissal drew nigh, how he found himself, his usual reply was "almost well." He had lived, the theme of many tongues: mingled admiration, contempt, hate, reverence and affection, were lavished upon him. But multitudes, even of other communions, acknowledged his rare worth. Hale, the brightest name in the records of the English Themis, was his friend, scarce refraining from tears when told of his imprisonment; and bequeathing to him a legacy, trivial in amount, but valuable, as the expression of esteem and love, from such a man. Usher, the most learned and pious prelate of his age, it was, that urged Baxter to write the *Call to the Unconverted*. Wilkins, also of the Episcopal bench, declared that had Baxter lived in primitive times, he would have been a father of the church; and that it was glory enough for one age to have produced such a man. Boyle, the devoutest, as he was among the greatest, of English philosophers, said of him, that he was better fitted than any man of that age to be a casuist; for he feared no man's displeasure, and sought no man's preferment. And Barrow, whose own powers as a reasoner, and prejudices as a churchman, give double force to his testimony, declared of him that his practical writings were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom confuted.

It will be seen that his life was no long dream of lettered ease, spent amid the quiet of a settled home, and all the aids of academic retirement. His was a troubled course; and, in the agitations of a changeful time, when the foundations of many generations were upheaved by the rising tide of revolution, when every day bore the news of recent, or the omen of coming change, busiest among the busy, Baxter seemed the sworn foe of repose; and, in the spirit of old Arnauld, the great champion of Jansenism, to have exclaimed, "Shall we not have all eternity to rest in?" Active by constitution, connected with the political parties in power, sometimes their adviser, more often their victim, Baxter was yet, with these entangling engagements about him, the diligent student, and the faithful pastor. He was, too, a most voluminous writer. His *practical* writings alone fill twenty volumes. Were his controversial and miscellaneous productions added, the collection would extend to sixty goodly octavos. Many a minister, we fear, lives and dies without reading as many pages as Baxter wrote. As a casuist, he was among the most renowned of the age. For seven years he had stood in doubt of his own salvation (xxiii, p. 1, and xvii, p. 276); and his anxious scrutiny of his heart and way, had qualified him to guide others. His *Christian Directory* remains yet, a work of great value, entering into religious duties with a minuteness of detail, a fullness of illustration, and a niceness of discrimination, that leave the reader astonished at the copious resources of his mind. As a controversialist, his pen had both power and weight; and, into all the leading questions of the age, he brought a strength of logic, and a scholastic acuteness, that made him to the most doughty of polemics no contemptible foe. Yet withal he was earnest for conciliation among Christians, anxious to find a middle way for contending theologians, and to effect an union among jarring sects; declaring often that he would as freely be a martyr for charity, as for any article in the creed. He attempted poetry, not that he sought fame, or had studied harmony; but because he loved the songs of the sanctuary, declaring that he knew no better image of heaven, than a whole congregation heartily singing the praises of God; because, too, he loved God with an ardent affection, and his feelings found natural vent in verse more pious than poetical. Two of his lines have, however, gained a currency, they are

likely never to lose. They are those in which he describes himself,

“ Preaching as if I ne’er should preach again,  
And as a dying man to dying men.”

Blessed the pulpit where this motto shines ; to the world it will be as an echo of Mount Sinai ; to the church, a tower on the heights of Mount Zion.

But the chief distinction of Baxter in authorship is as a practical writer. His topics were themes of universal concernment, such as he advises the youthful minister to select for his sermons ; themes drawn from the creed, the commandments, and the Lord’s prayer ; or, as he happily expressed it, the things to be believed, to be done, and to be desired. Such are the subjects that must “ come home to men’s business and bosoms.” Some of these compositions stand yet unrivalled for energy and urgency. The writer hurls himself against the heart of the reader with the force and directness of a battering-ram. Yet some were written under circumstances that would have sentenced others to helpless inactivity, and been pleaded as reasons sufficient for drawling out a life without effort or purpose. The Saints’ Everlasting Rest was the work of the last months in his military career ; with the noise of camps yet in his ears, separated from all his books, his health apparently fast failing, and eternity rising before him. But if ordinary helps were wanting, other and higher aid was not withheld. The church has few volumes written like that, as on the very summit of the delectable mountains, “ where the eye could trace the outlines of the New Jerusalem, and the ear already caught the thunder of the harpings of its many harpers.” Fame or profit was not the object of his authorship. His course shows the sincerity of a declaration prefixed to one of his sermons, that he would rather see his books carried in pedler’s packs to the fairs and markets of the country, than standing on the shelves of the rich man’s library.

As a preacher and pastor, it is scarcely possible for the youthful pastor to select a higher model in the modern church. His published works caused Doddridge to call him the Demosthenes of the English pulpit. There is much in his writings to redeem the epithet from extravagance, whether we look to the vigorous simplicity of style, their burning logic, set on fire by strong passion, his sustained enthusiasm, or the



tremendous iterations of his earnestness in dealing with the heart. Before Cromwell or the national parliament, the judges at their circuit, or the simple tradesman of his own Kidderminster, he seemed alike raised above all fear of man; elevated by the responsibility of his office and the view of his final audit at the bar of Christ, to a point, where the voice of fame died away on the ear, and the gauds and toys of earth showed in their native littleness. He was not only in request as a preacher, but as a disputant, holding public conferences with our own denomination, with the Quakers, and with bishops of the Establishment. But it is as a pastor, that the lesson of his life has its chief value. He brought his parish into a regular system of visitation; himself and his assistant visiting fourteen families previously designated, in each week, and devoting, every week, two entire days to the employment. Prolonged conversation with each individual, and the catechetical instruction of the whole family, were the exercises in which the time was spent. He counted his visitations greater labor, than his preparations for the pulpit. Their effects were remarkable. To the young he showed special care. It was a favorite sentiment with him, that, were Christian parents but faithful to their duties, preaching would remain no longer the chief instrument of conversion. He saw the benefits of toil bestowed upon children, in its re-action upon the parents. Some of his older parishioners, long incorrigible and insensible, were hopefully converted at the age, in some cases, even of eighty, in consequence of beholding the effects of piety in their children and grandchildren. In the Reformed Pastor he has urged the duties of the ministry with such power, that some theological instructors have recommended a yearly perusal of the work to every one occupying or expecting to fill the ministerial office.

Another memorable feature in his history is the manner in which he threw his mind into various channels without dissipating its strength. The peculiar circumstances of our age seem often to require this of pastors. Many and dissimilar employments must be mingled. Was it that his devotion gave tone and tension to his mind, such as no other discipline than that of the closet could have supplied, and that, basking on the loftiest heights of divine meditation, he came down to the strifes and toils of the plain beneath with a strength which could be obtained only in this near approach to the throne, or

in whatever mode we account for it, his name stands high among the few, who, in varied fields, have in most been eminent, and in none contemptible. Now engaged in preparing for the nursery the "*Mother's Catechism*," or putting on the shelf of the cottager the "*Poor Man's Family Book*," he was seen anon issuing some ponderous tome of theology or polemics, where the acuteness of a schoolman was sustained with no despicable stores of knowledge, and no vulgar eloquence. He blended qualities of mind and heart often deemed incompatible, because so seldom found in union. With much metaphysical subtlety, he used the simplest and most popular language, and retained his power of holding an audience spell-bound by appeals of stirring vigor and familiar illustrations. Bunyan, coming up from the shop and the highway, and the market-place, into the pulpit, could not preach more plainly, or draw to his aid illustrations more apt or homely. Public spirit in him was united with personal watchfulness; and his continual labors for others had not relaxed his attention to his own heart and way. The life of the statesman, the traveller, and the merchant, is sometimes thought to excuse, from its peculiar embarrassments, a lower standard of holiness in the Christian who occupies such a place in society. But Baxter's cares, and correspondence, and labors, might have wearied many a merchant, and seemed too intricate for a cabinet minister, while oft he found himself with no certain dwelling-place, travelling perforce now to regain health, and now to escape persecution; yet the retirement of the closet and the culture of the heart seem never neglected. He was like Daniel, who, with the cares of an empire resting on his shoulders, was still, in his chamber, the man greatly beloved of Heaven; and, like Nehemiah, when amid the luxury and pomp and honor of his station, his eye saw through the gilded lattices of Shushan, not the tufted palm, or the splendid pillar, or the fragrant garden, but one object still arose, dark and distant before his eye, the blackened walls of the distant Jerusalem.

It enhances yet more the value of his example and its singularity, that all these were the doings of an invalid. He belonged to that class from which some would expect little of energy or achievement, whose conversation is in some cases only of still recurring ailments, and their care is still some new remedy for the old disease. Scarce could this class

produce, from their most extreme cases, one whose bodily disorders were so numerous, distressing and long continued, as the complicated maladies that had met in the shattered tabernacle which housed the spirit of Baxter. Like his illustrious contemporary, when remembering his blindness, he

“Bates not a jot of heart or hope, but still  
Bears up and steers right onward.”—MILTON.

Entering the ministry with what would now be termed the symptoms of a confirmed consumption, Baxter battled right manfully his way through languor and pain, until he had passed the usual bound of threescore years and ten, allotted to our stay on the earth. When others would have quitted the field to occupy the hospital, and when many would have dwindled away into shivering and selfish valetudinarians, the impulse of high conscientiousness and sustaining faith carried this man on, to the last, an efficient laborer. And while, with Paul, he knew what it was to be “in deaths oft,” with the apostle, also, could he claim to be “in labors more abundant.”

He had his errors. Many he detected, and, like Augustine, in all candor, retracted. Others he knew not until he reached that land where all the followers of Christ will have so much to learn, as well as so much to enjoy. Among the imperfections of this excellent man, some may be palliated as the result of natural temperament or bodily weakness. Of ardent and irritable character, his vehemence became at times undue severity. His prejudices were strong, and his feelings perhaps often tinged with bitterness from the austerity of his life and his frequent sicknesses. With great metaphysical acuteness he refined and distinguished, until truth was perplexed, and error found shelter under heaps of ingenious distinctions. He confessed that he had an early and strong love of controversy, which he sought to restrain. But, even in his attempts to end, he sometimes created disputes, and added but a new term to the watchwords of theological strife already too numerous. His middle path became but the means of exciting new contentions, or forming one more sect. Thus Baxterianism, as others have called it, or the system by which he would harmonize the Calvinist and the Arminian, became, in his own and the subsequent generation, but the occasion of a new and embittered controversy. Hence he complained, late in life, that he had been making his bare hand a wedge to part the gnarly oaks of controversy, and the

result was, where he would have separated contending parties, they closed upon the hand of the peace-maker; united in endeavoring to crush it, if disunited in all else. Writing rapidly and on every theme, his expressions could not always have been duly weighed, and often clashed apparently with each other. This was a charge of his enemies, and was wittily urged against him by L'Estrange, who compiled what he supposed contradictions from Baxter's numerous books, and entitled the work "The Casuist uncased, or a Dialogue betwixt Richard and Baxter, with a Moderator between for quietness' sake." He was also accused of egotism; and his great contemporary, Owen, has broadly charged him with this fault. But it seems rather the childlike openness of a mind that thought aloud, and knew no disguises, than the fruit of conceit. A graver fault was his dislike of toleration. It was, however, the fault of his age and his sect; for the Presbyterian body to which he belonged, with all their excellences, and they were many and rare, were, as a denomination, the zealous opponents of religious freedom, and incurred for this, as for other causes, the indignant satire of the muse of Milton.

In this and other questions, nothing is more common, yet nothing more unjust, than to try the men of former ages by the light of our own times. But the men of that day reasoned thus. Every man is bound to use his influence in the extension of religion. He is not the less bound to do so, because he wears a crown. In what way could a king patronize, but by paying, its ministry, and guarding its creed. They read too in the Scriptures that kings were to be the nursing-fathers of the church; and seeing, in the Jewish dispensation, that God had united the civil and religious polity of his own people, Scripture and reason seemed to unite in requiring that the state should become the patron of the church. In addition, the practice of ages was with the advocates of these views. Where were the people, Christian or heathen, in whom the civil government and the priesthood did not recognize a mutual dependence, each on the other, and lend alternate aid? They who forget how deeply these prejudices were imbedded in the minds of mankind, and who condemn the intolerance of the Puritans without mercy, act unjustly; and if Baptists, are unjust also to the merit of their own fathers, whose honor, received from God,



it was to discover a truth long forgotten, and on its re-appearance universally suspected; and one, too, not at first sight so obvious but that much might be plausibly urged against it.

On the other hand, some few among the Baptists of the continent and England early held that all magistracy was sinful; that no Christian could accept it. They argued from the declaration of him who said, "My kingdom is not of this world;" and especially they relied on a perverse interpretation of that Scripture still so often misunderstood,—like some parts of ocean, beautifully clear, yet unfathomably deep,—the Sermon on the Mount. These arrived at a true result, that religion was not to be the creature of the state; but it was by a most erroneous process. The argument was that all states and governments were unlawful. As civil government was itself sin, Christ could not accept Belial as a coadjutor, nor the church the aid of the civil power. This was liberty, blundered upon by the gropings of falsehood. Others of the Baptists saw the truth, that civil magistracy was an ordinance of God, not only allowable, but necessary and most righteous, if justly administered. But they saw, also, that the Saviour's rule differed from that of earthly princes in its subjects and in its laws; in short, in its entire genius. They declared that to blend the two was tyranny against man, and it was treason against God. When this bold truth burst to light from the lowly walks of society, its effect was most startling. Like other truths, it carried to many minds its own evidence. But others saw in it the seed of all license, the subversion of all morality, the setting up in the state of a government without God, and in the church the desertion of truth to perish, an unregarded stranger in the streets. Their very piety made them the more strenuous in opposition; and the more they dreaded and abhorred the heresies to which they supposed it would give universal currency, the more did they labor, and argue, and pray against an unlimited toleration. We may see their error, and yet respect, and even revere their motives. Of this character was the holy man who gives occasion to these remarks. Seeing the Baptists in an error, as he deemed it, and especially zealous in breaking an inlet for all errors, he did perhaps, in some of his works, intemperately excite the magistrate against them. But, in later years, we rejoice to believe, that further acquaintance with some of their excellent leaders had weakened his prejudices; and, towards the

close of his course, he was in favor of a very restricted toleration for all evangelical sects, in which he would now include even the Baptists. It was not, however, until he entered heaven, that he understood that great truth,—to him so hard, to us so simple,—that Christ, the potentate of the universe, cannot be the stipendiary of any earthly kingling, and that the state, which assumes to patronize Christianity, corrupts it.

It were an interesting task to remember and compare some of the guiding spirits of the age in which he lived, with Baxter. He brought not the rich erudition of many of his co-evals to the study of the Bible. He could not boast the powers of Chillingworth as a reasoner; he did not emulate, and perhaps from conscience would not have used, the gorgeous imagery of Jeremy Taylor. Owen was a sounder theologian, and Howe had more, both of the sublime and the profound in his writings. Yet in how many points did all these men stand far behind the pastor of Kidderminster! In style, Barrow was not more nervous than he, nor was Tiltonson more clear on any practical theme. Milton probably disliked his stern Presbyterianism; and he had probably as little taste as the mass of the nation in that age for the magnificence of Milton's epic. He would have turned in preference to his own favorite George Herbert, with quaintnesses innumerable, but withal, a deep heart-felt piety, that would have commended to Baxter the verses of a bell-man. With the saintly Leighton he seems not to have met: their paths did not cross, until both had terminated in heaven. Of Bunyan we have met no mention in his writings; nor does the honest pastor of Bedford, in any of his works, refer to Richard Baxter. Both served God zealously and with every faculty. Both contended earnestly for an union among Christians, more desirable than practicable, and sought it by methods that were unwise. Both were confessors for truth in the dungeon; and, had persecution led them to the stake, neither would have faltered before the terrors of a fiery martyrdom. In the union of strong reasoning powers with an active imagination, the tinker of Elston more nearly approached Baxter than might at first have seemed probable. And in Bunyan's sermons, there is a force of homely illustration, a mastery of the vernacular English, and a terrific closeness and pungency in dealing with the sinner's conscience, as well as a high standard of Christian morality urged upon the

professed disciple, reminding any reader of Baxter's best works. Baxter might have learned to advantage from his humble contemporary to insist more than he did on the doctrines of grace, as the only ground of the sinner's hope, and the grand motives to a Christian practice. Both have met in heaven, and rejoice, we doubt not, continually in the multitudes whom their labors that survived them have already drawn, and are each day attracting thither, to swell the train of the ransomed, and the glories of the Redeemer.

Contrasted with the greatness of this world, how does the character of Baxter rise and tower in surpassing majesty, whether we consider the purity of his motives, or the high excellence of his private life, the nature of the influence he exerts, the labors accomplished by him, or the sufferings by which he was perfected. Voltaire, born the year after Baxter's death, resembled him in the quenchless fervor of his spirit, his promptitude and his untiring restlessness, the versatility of his powers, and their continuous exercise through a long life. But when the effects produced on the human character, and on the happiness of the individual, and the family, and the nation, by the philosopher of Ferney, and the Kidderminster pastor are brought into view together, how is the lustre of infidel genius rebuked! The gigantic skeptic dwindles and wilts before the holiness that inspired the genius of Baxter, like Satan, when touched by the spear of Ithuriel, cowering in deformity and shame. To sneer, to chatter, and to mock, were the favorite employments of the one, flinging filth and breathing venom on every side. The other was, indeed, imperfect; but still it is seen, that the mind which was in him was the mind that was in Christ; and beneficence, and truth, and purity, piety toward God, and justice and mercy toward mankind, streamed from his heart, his lips, and his eyes, over a world that was not worthy of him.

Imagination might ask, what would have been the chosen pursuits of such a spirit as Baxter's, had his lot been cast in our times, and his home been fixed upon these western shores. Would he have given his life to the heathen? He loved them. And while Owen, his gifted compeer, thought it not the duty of the church to undertake missions to the heathen without some new call from heaven, Baxter judged more rightly, that the only impediment was the want of the requisite love and faith in the church. When silenced in England,

he declared that years and the difficulties of a new language only prevented him from going to preach Christ to idolaters. We may well suppose, that, in whatever field he had been fixed, he would have thrown the whole weight of his energy into the missionary enterprise. In the labors of the Tract and Bible Society, he had within his parochial limits anticipated the schemes of our day. But with the widening facilities now afforded for the work, how efficient might he have been, and how effective a writer of tracts was Baxter qualified to become. And had he enjoyed the light of those truths, now the common heritage of the age, but, then, hidden from some of the ablest and best of mankind,—had he known the powers of an emancipated church,—had he understood the sanctity of conscience, how much of misspent labor might have been preserved for wiser uses. But here as elsewhere, God, who would not have the fathers perfect without us, had reserved for us some better thing. Rich is our inheritance. And did Richard Baxter see as we do, a country opening before him, not a narrow and rock-bound isle, but a massy continent, soon to be belted by our republic,—did he behold what our eyes witness, the railroad and the canal, shooting their lines of electrical communication across the face of our broad territory,—did he see steam yoking itself to the chariot, and urging the vessel with a speed that leaves the wildest hopes of early projectors lagging far behind,—and did he see our language, his own nervous and masculine English, spreading itself not only through Britain and America, but to their colonies and connections on every shore, would he not have deemed these redoubled opportunities of influence a call to yet redoubled zeal? Yet more, had he seen travel and history bringing every day new testimonies to swell the growing mass of prophecies accomplished, and to heighten and strengthen the walls of Christian evidence,—did he hear from the southern seas, then unknown, the cry of nations turning from the idols of their fathers, would not even his zeal have received a new impulse, and the trumpet at his lips have blown a blast waxing yet louder and louder? Whatever were his duty, is not the less ours. The contemplation of such an example reproves us all. But the Master's promised presence and the inexhaustible graces of that Spirit which has been the Teacher of the church, and her teachers in all ages, these may well stimulate to the loftiest aims, and revive



the faltering hopes of the faintest heart. Let us not then, in beholding the graces that have adorned the former servants of our common Lord, be ready to deem all emulation impossible. In regarding the character and achievements of Baxter, we may not hope to possess his singular talents; but all may imitate his holiness, his zeal, his resolute patience, his diligence, and his flaming charity. And if ever the standard seem too elevated, and our eyes are dazzled as we look at its tall summit, bright with heaven's own light, let us remember, that even this does not reach the full height of our privileges and our obligations. For it was no disputable authority that spake, and in no dubious language, when the Lawgiver and the Redeemer proclaimed it as the rule of his household, "Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

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## ARTICLE II.

WORKS OF NATHANAEL EMMONS, D. D.

*The Works of Nathanael Emmons, D. D., late Pastor of the Church in Franklin, Mass., with a Memoir of his Life.*  
 Edited by JACOB IDE, D. D. Six volumes, 8vo. Boston,  
 Crocker & Brewster. 1842.

[COMPLETED FROM VOL. VII, p. 534.]

PROFOUND as is our respect for Dr. Emmons, it would ill become the responsibility we have assumed in attempting an impartial review of his works, were we to pass in silence some important matters on which we sincerely believe him in mistake.

We begin with an important case, which may serve as one of our promised illustrations, respecting the assumption of false principles.

In his two discourses on "the true character of good men" (Vol. V, p. 196), he maintains, not merely the possibility, but the absolute necessity, of a man's being either perfectly holy or perfectly sinful, at any given moment of his life. Against such a position we have many objections, which we

think are not answered in the discourses; but we deem it needless here to propound more than one of them.

To the support of such a doctrine, the assumed principle is indispensable, that we can *think* of only *one* thing at a time. And, accordingly, he all along reasons on this assumption, though it is no where directly made, or even mentioned. Thus, in the following sentences:

“We all know that our thoughts are extremely rapid in their succession. We cannot ascertain how many thoughts we have in one hour, nor even in one minute. And our affections or volitions *may be* as rapid in their succession as our thoughts; yea, it is very evident that they are too rapid for observation. For, though we never act without a motive, yet we often act without being able, the next moment after action, to tell the motive from which we acted. This shows that the succession in our volitions, as well as in our thoughts, is sometimes too rapid to be distinctly remarked. Let it be admitted, then, that saints are not always conscious of the alternate succession of holy and unholy exercises in their own minds; yet this will not prove that there is no such succession. The plain reason is, the succession is too rapid to be observed.”—Vol. V, p. 205.

Be it so. Still, this proves but little to the *main* object he has in view, the impossibility of mingled emotions of sin and holiness, except on the assumption that we cannot think of two things at once. Now, of such an assumption, we say, in the first place, that whoever builds an important conclusion upon it, ought first distinctly to state, and positively to prove, the principle. It is not enough to intimate to others, that they cannot prove the contrary, because the succession of thought is so rapid. The rapidity of our thoughts affords not even a presumption against the co-existence of a plurality of thoughts, and consequently of affections, in the wonderful mind. This might seem enough to stop one who has taken the laboring oar into his own hand. But if it is not enough, then we say, secondly, that, feeble as are our own powers of cogitation, we *can* think of at least two things at once. We simply affirm it, as a matter of direct consciousness. We know it, just as we know that we can see two men at once. We might say, that, as their images co-exist distinctly on the retina of the eye, so do they on our mind's eye. But we need no such analogies to confirm what is already positive knowledge. And what is thus known to be true in our own consciousness, we remark, thirdly, we believe to be also true, and even *necessarily* true, in every reasoning being. It seems to us indispensable to the existence of rationality; for

how can we compare any two things together, or draw any conclusion in regard to their relations, if we can think of only one of them at a time? Once completely out of the mind, the thing may as well never have been there. And if it be supposed, that some dim trace or impression of it is left, whereby to infer its relations to its successor, then we affirm, that even the dim trace or impression is just as really an object of thought, as would be a more vivid impression,—albeit, we presume it was not from such dim impressions of one out of two compared objects, that Dr. Emmons carried on his logical processes. Nay, a lower effort than that of reasoning, viz., simple comparison, seems to us necessarily to imply the co-existence in the mind of the objects compared. If a lamb is completely out of your thoughts, away from your conceptions, as though it had never been there, how is it possible for you to affirm, that it is smaller or less ferocious than a lion? But if both are together in your mind, though with less vividness than if only one were thought of, why may you not simultaneously feel holy pity for the lamb, and unhallowed wrath towards its devourer?

A fair answer to this question would seem fatal to the principle. We must, therefore, be allowed to think it a spurious postulate, sanctioned though it be by the additional authority of Scotch metaphysicians. And yet, on this postulate in mental philosophy, connected with what seems to us an insulated and wrong view of certain scripture declarations, hangs the prolific theory, which we believe Dr. E. was the first to advance, respecting the precise nature of the imperfections of good men in this life. According to that theory, their imperfection does not consist in the feebleness nor in the impurity of their affections, nor in the mingling of wrong affections; but simply in the inconstancy of those affections. Hence, when holy in any degree, they are perfectly holy; and when sinful, they are perfectly sinful; and so, in his own language, “there may be some moments or hours in which they are totally sinful, as well as some in which they are entirely holy.” And in the same paragraph, he says: “A saint is one who habitually obeys, though he sometimes disobeys, the divine commands. The saint, who is imperfect, and sometimes feels and acts like a sinner, will continue habitually holy and obedient to the end of his days.” (p. 206.) Of course he means to be understood as saying, that, in far the

greater part of the time, a saint is perfectly holy, however frequent his short lapses into perfect sinfulness. And he supposes it owing entirely to this sort of perfection, that Noah, Job, and others in the Old Testament, are called perfect. And he says: "Though saints are conscious that their love to God and other holy exercises are not so lively and vigorous at one time as another, yet they never feel to blame, merely on account of the weakness or languor of their religious affections." This, by the way, we must regard as another false assumption.

In his seventh inference, he says :

"If the imperfection of true believers be owing to the inconstancy of their gracious affections, then they are able to attain to a *full assurance* of their good estate. They may certainly determine that they are the subjects of special grace. For every holy affection they have is totally distinct from every sinful affection, and affords an infallible evidence of a renovation of heart. And as this evidence exists in every real saint, so every real saint may discover it. Hence the weakest Christian may discover that infallible evidence of grace which actually exists in his own heart, and which may give him assurance of his gracious state."

This would, indeed, seem to follow from his doctrine of their perfection: but those who may regard it as false in fact, will be likely to turn back the tide of reasoning, and conclude, that the doctrine itself must be false. If true, we fear, that most who are regarded as pious must give their hopes to the wind; for we suspect they have very earnestly, but in vain, sought such infallible assurance by the inspection of their exercises.

His sixth inference is, that there is, in the minds of saints, "a foundation for what is commonly called the Christian warfare. It is a warfare, not between the heart and conscience, but between holy and unholy affections." This we must think a very marked instance, among the few *non sequiturs* we have noticed in his writings. We should draw just the contrary inference from his doctrine; for how can there be any "warfare of holy and unholy affections" in a breast that can contain but one affection at a time, and that affection either perfectly holy or perfectly sinful? A fear that it will be supplanted may be painful, but can hardly be called a warfare. And here, again, since there really is such a warfare, we should once more reverse the reasoning, and infer the falsity of the doctrine.

We have called this a prolific doctrine. And so the



inferences prove it. And that, under such a hand, it should bring forth such grapes, is strong proof that it is, also, a strange vine. We will only add, in regard to its fruits, that the Oberlin perfectionism (we deeply grieve at the thought of such a connection) is manifestly a cluster of the same vine. That all are bound to be morally perfect, and have powers to be perfect, we no more doubt, than that God has commanded us to be perfect. But that any one is, in fact, thus sinlessly holy, even for the twinkling of an eye, we have yet to see proved.

We now pass to another weighty matter, wherein we think Dr. Emmons not entirely right, and wherein we think no other man entirely right whose minute speculations we have read; and wherein, moreover, we should utterly despair of being right ourselves, while in the flesh, were we to attempt a minute delineation. We refer to the connection between human and divine agency in our moral actions, and especially in the production of sin.

Whence comes evil? This is the vexed and vexing question, which has distressed, not only the whole Christian, but the whole heathen world, in all ages,—the rack on which every reflecting intellect has been stretched, since the fall of Adam.

“Why, the devil is the author of sin!” saith one, very sagely. “Good, very good,” is the answer. For “an enemy hath done this,” is the decision of our highest tribunal. “But who made the devil? and how comes he to remain a devil? and how has he power to influence us to sin? How is he accounted for? On what stands this tortoise, on whose back rests a universe of sin? Say, good sage, on what? Happy the mind that can contentedly leave him there, standing on nothing, and depart, smiling self-complacently over the perfection, as well as the accuracy, of its philosophy! Plato, however, could not do this; nor could Confucius; nor could those wise men of the East, the magi; nor could the Brahmins, or the Mohammedans, or the Gnostics, or the Christian fathers, or the Reformers, or the Papists. Nor was such a mind as that of Calvin or of Emmons ever born to do it. The most ethereal and inquisitive might say, indeed, with Augustine, “Even so, Father!” But this, such a mind would regard as a pious waiving, not a solution, of the problem. And Dr. E., like thousands before him, did not feel himself compelled thus to waive the question.

We do not accuse Dr. E. of audacity in pursuing the sublime theme. Nor do we even regret the publication of that singular and startling result to which he came. True or false, we believe good will result from the publication. For, if true, the result is invaluable; and, if false, the broad road is now made so perspicuous by the illumination of his progress, and the beacon over the mighty wreck, at its termination, will be so lofty, as to give timely warning to coming adventurers. On the contrary, we commend his diligence and perseverance. Nor would we unqualifiedly condemn him as impious, in daring to embrace such a sentiment as that of God's being the direct cause of all sin. If mistaken, he was at least conscientious. Nor would we charge him with audacity, when thoroughly convinced of the truth and vital importance of the sentiment, for daring, martyr-like, to proclaim it to the world. Most firmly did he believe it both salutary to man, and indispensable to the highest glory of God. And, sensitive as he naturally was to the good opinion of men, and knowing well what they would say, we can only regard it as among the highest exhibitions of human courage. Nor was there necessarily any more of "reasoning pride," or of any other pride, in this daring, than may have lurked in the breast of many a holy martyr, when marching to the stake.

The connection of human and divine agency is by no means a theme of empty speculation. It is as fruitful as it is profound. And men will not let it alone. Nay, they ought not to let it alone; and they cannot, if they would, unless they cease to think on man's moral connection with his Maker and Sanctifier. Some theory of it, latent or avowed, is in the very roots of every true and every false system of divinity; and it extends to the topmost leaf. If not seen in the trunk, it will be tasted in the fruits,—making them either the apples of Sodom, or of the tree of life,—making man either a machine, or a moral being,—making God either a tyrant, or a righteous judge; or, perhaps, like the magi, and the Gnostics, and the Manichæans, giving him but a divided or crippled sceptre. False views on this subject, are at the bottom of a large share of all the minor and the more atrocious heresies, as well as the false religions, that have infested the earth. By such views, the Gnostics, for instance, were led to deny the whole of the Old Testament,

and to deny that the Lord of hosts was the true God. And hence came the wide-spread dualism of the heathen world. How a benevolent and omnipotent God should suffer moral evil to exist, was the block over which they stumbled.

And the problem is as difficult as it is practical. So the acute scholastics of the middle ages found it; and so has it been found always and every where. Even a subordinate question, the precise nature of the aid which God affords in the production of holiness in good men, cost a sagacious pope and his select "council of aids," after the light of the reformation, nearly his whole reign to determine; and then his successor, with the council enlarged, consumed nearly another reign in attempting to decide how to express the solution; and, finally, they gave it up in despair, and published no decision. They doubted either the correctness of their own decision, or else the power to gain a general assent. It was too much for even papal infallibility.

Well, then, might Dr. E. rejoice, when he so sincerely believed he had discovered the true solution. And well might he be willing to suffer a living martyrdom in publishing it to the world. And with joy unspeakable should we rejoice, could we repose only a tenth part of the same confidence in its soundness.

One trait of a great discovery, however, it must be acknowledged to possess; we mean, a striking combination of simplicity and comprehensiveness. One bold breath promulgates the secret; while its application is co-extensive with the whole range of moral action. This is it: *Neither man, angel, nor devil, can act at all, except as directly moved by the power of God.* Not a volition can he have, either holy or sinful, which God does not inspire. As comprehensive as it is bold! This truly said, and we have a basis of adamant on which to reason high

"Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate;  
Fixed fate, freewill, foreknowledge absolute."

Nor once find ourselves "in wandering mazes lost."

We are not about to assail this heaven-high fortress with metaphysical thunder. This we have tried, till our magazine is exhausted. We believe it impregnable to such artillery. For, if you say the strongest thing ever uttered against it, viz., that it reduces the moral universe to a mere machine, moved only by its grand *primum mobile*, the Creator, you are

met with the modest request to exculpate your own views of God's agency in the production of holiness in man. And you are dumb. If you say, it makes God the author of sin, this, in a sense deemed not only justifiable in God, but most holy and glorious, is admitted, nay, claimed. And then you are requested to defend your own theory, whatever it may be, any where within the pale of Christianity, from the same charge. And you will find yourself pushed, from one position after another, absolutely into the den of Gnosticism, before you can escape the charge of making God the author of sin in *some* sense. And when, with the Gnostics, you have denied that God made either yourself, or the devil, or the world, or can completely control either; then, and not till then, may you consistently deny him to be, in any sense, the author of sin. And again, if you say, his theory makes God the author of sin, in a *worse sense* than yours does,—and provided yours is not the Arminian theory of a self-determining power, which he would demolish in the proper way,—just see, by the following extracts from Prof. Park, how the doctor might deal with your assertion.

"The controversy between Dr. Emmons and some of his opposers is a curious one. They believe that God has created within us a nature which is sinful. He denies it, for this, among other reasons, that such a belief makes God the author of sin, which man has no freedom in committing. He believes that God creates the wrong exercises of a free agent. They deny this theory, because it makes God the author of sin. Their doctrine makes God the cause of a moral evil, which we have no agency in committing; his doctrine makes God the cause of a moral evil, which we have an agency in committing. He was honest in expressing all that his doctrine implied; they were cautious in not expressing all that their doctrine implied. He evinced his perspicacity in seeing that, on their system, not less than on his own, moral evil must be traced ultimately to the mysterious will of Heaven. They manifested their prudence, in not declaring the truth which he saw. They were not dishonest in concealing, but he was honest in avowing. They were not obtuse in their discernment, but he was sharp-sighted. On the other hand, he was not rash, but scorned an evasion. He was not regardless, more than his opposers, of the stain which might, by an abuse of his theory, be cast upon Jehovah; but he believed that God dwells in light, and they who come to the light shall find no darkness at all. If his theory does reflect a dishonor upon the divine government, that of some who controvert him, reflects the same. 'These men,' he says, 'censure me for declaring that God creates sin; but do they know, or not, that they believe the same, but do not declare it? They blame me for denying free agency; but I assert it, and they virtually deny it. I teach that God creates within us free moral exercises. Can they say that exercises which are *created free*, are not free?'—  
Vol. I, p. 147.



No, it is not on the score of metaphysics, that we can believe Dr. E. assailable on this point. Apart from other considerations, we should sooner adopt his whole theory, than any other we have seen.

Where, then, is the ordnance that can bring this citadel to the ground? Our answer is as simple as his theory. It is in the account which God himself has given of his own agency.

But before bringing the Scriptures to bear on this theory, let us first test a little the metaphysical part of the foundation on which it rests. We suspect we shall find here, after all, nothing more solid than hypothesis. For, if Dr. Emmons say that he cannot *conceive* of a dependent being as acting in any other way than that of being directly influenced, in all his affections, by God, this can amount to nothing more than for some equally perspicacious man to affirm, on the contrary, that he can. There would then remain nothing between them, on metaphysical ground, but that *argumentum ad hominem* which we have before sketched; no proof; nothing but one of those bare assumptions of first principles, which must be prostrated by the slightest breath of inspiration.

Theory, we grant, is not only good, but even essential to much progress in knowledge. And, though extremely startling, yet if simple, and apparently consistent and adequate to its object, it possesses a charm for the thinking mind. This meed we readily accord to the theory of Dr. E., when fairly understood in the sense he intended. Still, mere theory, however beautiful, has nothing substantial in its nature. It is only a gorgeous rainbow,—spanning, it may be, a bright constellation of truths of the first magnitude,—or, as it may be, only empty darkness. Yet do we sigh, when we see so beautiful a form melt in thin air. Still, though in plaintive tone, calmly, nay, joyfully, would the disinterested Hopkinsian himself say, ‘Go, lovely shadow, if go thou must.’

And now, to the law and the testimony. Dr. E. denying, as he well may, the Arminian notion of man’s self-determining power, goes quite to the other end of the line, and denies also all power of motives to move man, and even man’s power to move in view of motives, and also the devil’s power to move him, without God’s immediate agency on man’s heart. “God exercises a universal agency upon the hearts of men;” and “to deny his universal agency, is virtually to deny his existence, which amounts to perfect infidelity.

"He can form as many vessels of mercy and vessels of wrath as he decreed to form, in perfect consistency with their free agency. God can make men act right freely, and act wrong freely. He can make them love and hate, choose and refuse; and consequently can mould and fashion their hearts just as he pleases, consistently with their perfect free agency. He has always been forming vessels of mercy and vessels of wrath, from the beginning of the world to this day; and he is now exercising his powerful and irresistible agency upon the heart of every one of the human race, and producing either holy or unholy exercises in it."—Vol. IV, pp. 387, 388.

Accordingly, after removing all restraints,

"God stood by Pharaoh, and moved him to exult in his obstinacy. He continually hardened his heart, and governed all the exercises of his mind, from the day of his birth to the day of his death. This was absolutely necessary to prepare him for his final state. All other methods, without this, would have failed of fitting him for destruction."—p. 327.

However strong the language here, and in many other passages, from the bold pen of Dr. E., yet it presents no caricature of his darling theory; "which," he says, "is plainly revealed and taught from the beginning to the end of the Bible;" which ought not to be pronounced "blasphemy;" and of which "the denial is either open infidelity, or impious blasphemy."

Now, we have no heart either to charge so good a man with blasphemy, or to be ourselves charged with either infidelity or blasphemy. Still, we must very solemnly repeat our suggestion, that it is at open war with many plain declarations of Scripture. The following is an example. "Let no man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God." But this theory, for aught we can see, would even compel him to say this; and would, moreover, convict the apostle James "of either infidelity or blasphemy," in denying that God "tempteth any man." One of the very names of the devil is, *the tempter*. And if we declare, in the detail, that God does all which the devil does, and more too, why is *he* not also a tempter? What, then, does the devil do to a man in tempting him? He presents allurements to sin. So does God, according to this theory. The devil intends he should comply with those allurements. So does God. The devil tries to remove all restraints. God actually does remove them, as in the case of Pharaoh. The devil suggests evil thoughts. So does God. The devil deceives men. So does God, in even a higher sense. The devil, perhaps, followed Pharaoh from the beginning to the end of his life, doing all

he could to fit him for destruction. God even created him for this purpose, and also arranged every circumstance of his life to this end. The devil would gladly have put forth an efficient power on his heart, moving him to sin. But what the devil could not do, God rejoiced in effecting by "his powerful and *irresistible* agency on the heart."

We think there is not a word of this which Dr. E. would have blotted. If, then, God did all to Pharaoh which the devil did in tempting him, and more too, and did it also with precisely the same end in view, so far as Pharaoh was concerned, why ought not Pharaoh to have said, in the depths of his temptation, "I am tempted of God!" And how is it possible, on this theory, to clear the apostle James of the charge of blasphemy?

To say, in reply, that God had no *malice* towards Pharaoh, and had also a *benevolent* regard to the good of the whole universe in all this, seems only an irrelevant distinction. It is not only saying, that God might be justified in so tempting, but does even imply a denial that he did tempt him. I have no malice towards the beautiful trout I am angling for in the brook; and I have also the benevolent motive of procuring savory food for my sick father. Nevertheless, could he speak, it would be good English, and a most solemn truth, were he to say, "I am most sorely tempted of this angler to swallow the fatal hook." My good motives would not alter the bearing of the act upon him. But suppose it be still said, that the distinction *is* relevant,—for we know so important a point will not readily be yielded,—then we say, that it only makes the case the stronger. For, to say, that God has an infinitely wise and good motive in putting forth, in addition to all internal and external motives, "a powerful and irresistible agency on the heart," only increases, and by a whole infinity, the ground for self-justification in the sinner's plea. He pleads his innocence in complying with the temptation, by asserting that "he is tempted of God." And you tell him, "God, indeed, does the thing by his direct and irresistible omnipotence; but has a *wise* and *holy* motive in the act." "So much the more clearly, then, am I justified in my plea," says the sinner, "provided such motives have any bearing on the question. For, while God's sovereign omnipotence is thus exculpated in the temptation, yet I am only the more clearly exculpated in complying with so holy and irresistible

a temptation !” We see no flaw in his reasoning on such premises, and must therefore reject the theory as contrary to Scripture. God’s tempting, i. e., proving Abraham, where he neither intended nor influenced him to sin, but the contrary, is quite a different case.

But, in this passage, James seems to put yet another veto upon the theory. “Every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed.” Here the real power of seduction, the influence to evil action, is ascribed to something very different from the immediate agency of God on the heart. Second causes, instead of possessing virtually no power, and being only *occasions* of the divine action, or things in *view* of which the man acts, while acted upon only by the universal agent, are represented as possessing a real power. And that they do possess such a power, though not independently of God’s gift and support, we think may be satisfactorily shown from other passages of Scripture. We must also be permitted to say, that we think the same may be demonstrated by metaphysical considerations ; and that Brown, in his philosophy, has, in fact, demonstrated it. For, unless second causes have some real power and action of their own, how can they properly be called causes at all ? And why shall we not be compelled to regard the whole created universe but a mere pageant, or rather an automaton ? We are, therefore, compelled to think it a very bold and unwarranted assertion, to affirm, without qualification, that “the laws of nature are nothing more than the modes of the divine operation.” This assertion has indeed been often made by great and good men ; and in certain bearings, it seems both a very pious and a very potent assertion. But, however profitable it may be in heading the atheist, who would ascribe every thing to second causes, if it be not well established, we cannot, as good Protestants, employ it, even in the best of causes, as an established basis of argument. To do so would be only a species of pious fraud. Nor, if really false, can any thing but ultimate disaster be expected to the cause of Christianity. If it helps us against one enemy, it will soon be found to help ten other enemies against us. And, in the present case, we think we can readily point out at least two of the ten who will speedily be upon us with this potent weapon,—first, the fatalist, and then the pantheist ; neither of whose blows we can hope to parry.



For, if God literally does all things, and second causes have *no* power, what stronger idea can we form of fatalism?

And again, if God *so* does all things, what stronger, or even what other, idea can we form of pantheism? And, for aught we know to the contrary, God is left the sole spirit in the universe, not only pervading all things, but literally doing all things, good and bad; not simply making the leaves, and the trees, and the winds, but also, by his own immediate power,—not that of the wind,—moving those leaves and waving the mighty forests. And then, as we ascend to the lofty sphere of the *moral* universe, it is the same God who is seen,—not indeed creating free, moral agents, and then by a mysterious power, a spiritual wind, blowing where it listeth, waving the great forest of human, angelic, and demoniac volitions; no, but—creating these very volitions themselves. So that you cannot positively affirm, that there exists in the universe such a thing as a finite spirit, apart from the psychological exercises, which are the immediate product of God.

That other phases of fatalism and of pantheism may exist, we do not question; but if here is not the essence of both, we must confess our ignorance of the nature of those errors.

Not, however, that we would charge these monstrous errors on Dr. E. No man has labored more to keep clear of both. Nor would we charge them on his principles, any more than on the principles of Dwight, of Newton, and of other divines and philosophers. He has only carried their principle a step or two further in its legitimate progress, than they could venture, before abandoning it; and by doing so, has opened the eyes of us, more timid men, to consult our own safety, by at once abandoning the principle itself, lest the Philistines be upon us. Never again can we dream of safety, while hazarding the assertion, that second causes have no power; or, which is the same thing, that the laws of nature are only the modes of God's operations.

In passing, we would just remark, that, in a passage we may yet quote, this last form of assertion is called a "definition." This is a great departure from the writer's wonted accuracy. For, so far from the nature of a definition, it is a positive assertion of a fundamental principle:

and, time-honored as it is, we yet think it a false assumption. How it first came into favor, we know not; but as soon should we think it philosophical to fall in with the popular tide, and ascribe to electricity all the unaccountables in natural phenomena, as to think of solving all the difficulties we meet with in speculating about cause and effect, by ascribing all action immediately to God. Horace's

Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus,

is as sound a precept for the philosopher or the theologian, as for the tragic or the epic poet.

But if the postulate we are complaining of,—for we regard it only as a postulate, which neither is nor can be proved,—is right, then is Dr. E. right in such assertions as the following, for they are only a more specific form of the one generic idea of "God's universal agency." He says (Vol. IV, pp. 371, 372), "The divine agency is as much concerned in men's bad, as in their good actions. If they need any kind or degree of divine agency in doing good, they need precisely the same kind and degree of divine agency in doing evil." And the ground of this need is, that "mind cannot act any more than matter can move, without a divine agency." And hence, in his view, none ought "to ascribe the good actions of men to the divine agency, while they ascribe their bad ones to the divine permission." All this Dr. E. considered as the dictate both of reason and Scripture. And that it is truly the dictate of *reason*, we see not how any one can deny; provided he considers the laws of nature as only the modes of the divine action. Nor can we any more see, on this principle, how Dr. E. himself can still hold, as he strenuously does, that man is active, while thus acted upon. If we deny all power to second causes, in the moral as well as in the material world, how can we still hold, that the mind, which is but a second cause, as truly as matter, can act and have exercises of its own? The one position, or the other, we must abandon. And hence we choose here to apply that common and sound maxim for the testing of principles—what proves too much, proves nothing; or rather proves itself false. And no where, in the whole range of morals or of physics, do we know of a more manifest case for the application of this. A principle, which would establish pantheism, and enthrone fate, and annihilate all moral distinctions, must be false.

Still Dr. E. would consider his doctrine as the dictate of Scripture. And the reason he adduces is, that the Scriptures ascribe both the good and the bad actions of men to God, as well as to them. "I, the Lord, do all these things." True: but neither this passage, nor those respecting Pharaoh, nor any others, would of themselves warrant the assertion, that there is "precisely the same *kind* and *degree* of divine agency" concerned in men's bad actions, as in their good. Much less do we think the Scriptures, as a whole, warrant any such assertion; but quite the contrary. A single passage will suffice, as both specimen and proof. "What if God, willing to show his wrath and to make his power known, endured, with much long-suffering, the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction? And, that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory." That here is, indeed, a divine agency recognized, in regard to sin as well as to holiness, as far be it from us to deny, as to attempt to decide precisely the degree or the mode of that agency. But, a very clear matter it is, that Paul's proposition is quite different from that of Dr. E. "God *endures*, with much long-suffering, the vessels of *wrath*; but the vessels of mercy he *prepares* unto glory." Why this diversity, and seemingly intentional contrast, in the language, provided there is no difference in the divine action in the two cases? Was Paul afraid to speak the whole truth about God's preparing sinners for destruction? We doubt whether Dr. E. has any where spoken in this way, when bringing the two topics together. Much less do we believe Paul would so have spoken, if he had known Dr. E.'s theory to be correct. He seems really to have had in his eye something like the distinction commonly made between God's *suffering* sinners to sin, and his *working* holiness in the hearts of saints. And, as in this passage, so in the whole Bible, when taken in its entire connection. A few minds, in reading the entire Scriptures, might suppose God to have *some* direct influence in producing sin in men; but we do not believe even Dr. E. himself would ever have been led, simply by reading the Bible, to suppose precisely the same influence as in producing holiness.

And here, we shall by no means lose sight of our general object, if we stop a moment to inquire how a mind, so

deeply imbued with devout reverence for the Scriptures, could be led to his views on this subject. We say, how it *could* be, not how it actually was led; for this is a historical question, for which we have not the needful testimony.

What we have already said respecting his honestly and correctly carrying out the commonly received principle in regard to the laws of nature, as being only the modes of the divine action, is enough to account for perhaps the whole. But, besides, we find also another principle, nearly allied to this, still more fundamental, of the same tendency, and embraced, not only by him, but by a large proportion of theological writers. The principle is one which he deems of the highest importance, and which he thus states, in his sermon on "God's universal agency" (Vol. IV, p. 378): "The agency of God consists in his will, his choice, or volition; and in nothing which is either the cause or consequence of his willing or choosing to produce any effect, or bring about any event." His meaning is, that there is no difference between God's simply willing or preferring that, on the whole, a thing should be, and his *causing* it to be,—no difference between his willing or preferring, and his doing. And this is doubtless the meaning of a multitude of writers who have touched on the topic, and who yet, like Dr. Dwight, would utterly reject Dr. E.'s conclusions. But we know not how this multitude could have failed to see the use that might legitimately be made, and which Dr. E. has made, of such premises, except by supposing them, as inadvertently as swiftly, to have passed over this spot of thin ice. For they hold that God has decreed sin, and of course prefers its existence, in some sense. If, then, a simple preference is itself an actual doing or causing of a thing, and the only causing God ever puts forth, how is it possible there should be any difference, in kind or degree, in God's agency in the production of sin and of holiness? And why must we not also say, that God *irresistibly* moves men to sin, just as he irresistibly created the world? His agency is the same in both cases,—a simple preference, all things considered. The course of argument is as plain as it is short and straight, and is directly down a precipice, where there is no stopping-place. Is it not so?

We do not wonder, then, how Dr. E. could embrace such opinions. The greater wonder is, how his predecessors could



have failed to embrace the same. And the greatest wonder of all is, how both he and they should so unhesitatingly, and with so slight an appearance of proof, have adopted so fundamental and pregnant a proposition.

But we have now opened before us a much more important problem than that of tracing the probable track of such a mind as that of Dr. E. Is the proposition true? Is there no difference between willing and doing in God? Dr. E. affirms there is none. And this negative he attempts, in his usual way, to prove both from Scripture and reason. We think he utterly fails in both.

He first takes the exhausting method, and says, that God's agency does not consist in his knowledge, nor in his wisdom, nor in his omnipotence; and then, as if he had completed the whole list of what is possible with God, except simply his willing, he thus proceeds,—“Now if his agency does not consist in his knowledge, nor in his wisdom, nor in his omnipotence, nor in any of his natural perfections, the inference is plain, that it must consist in his will, or choice, or volition, and in nothing else.” Here we would humbly ask, whether we are warranted in positively affirming all this of God? No one, we presume, ever thought of God's, or of man's agency, as consisting in either knowledge, wisdom, or power; but may there not be what we may call a putting forth of God's omnipotence, which is a consequence of his will or his preference, and yet is as distinct from this, as the toilsome *conatus*, in feeble man, is distinct from his wish or his will? What if we have not a distinct name, by which to designate the essence of the divine agency? Does this prove that it lies wholly in his simple will? And if so, why not simply use the word will or preference, in all cases of the divine action, instead of never so using it?

But Dr. E. furthermore tells us, that the case with God is just as it is with man; and that it is by considering what power and agency are in us, that we know what they are in God. So it may be. But when he adds, that all our agency consists merely in the *willing* to do, we think he confounds two things, which both Scripture and experience pronounce as distinct as cause and effect. Paul says,—no matter whether for himself or for an alarmed sinner,—“To *will* is present with me; but how to *perform* that which is good, I find not.” And who has not known the same of himself?

And that, too, in a different sense from the one Dr. E. gives of this passage,—for he is compelled to suppose Paul willing to do a thing to-morrow, which, when to-morrow comes, he finds no heart to will on the spot. This, we think, a wresting of the passage; and that many a sinner desires to be pious, to repent instantly, and wills it; and that many a pious man wills and longs to be perfect now; while neither of them finds how to perform the good thing desired. These and a thousand other good illustrations, we believe, may be found in daily experience, come what may of human theories about power, agency, freedom, and the like, when viewed in the abstract. Say, devout Christian reader, do you, or do you not, now desire, wish, will, to be perfect? “Yes.” Are you, then, perfect? “No.” Is there not, then, a difference between willing and doing? If, now, you find such a difference between your own willing and doing, you are, according to Dr. E., even bound to believe some difference in God; for he says, our only way of forming an idea of God’s agency is from what we know of our own.

We might show, further, that the universal conceptions of unbiased minds, as evinced by their use of language, and even by the very structure of all languages, proves such a difference. But we have neither time nor necessity for such an excursion. We presume the way in which willing comes to be confounded with doing, is this: We readily perceive, as it regards external acts, that the whole of their *moral* nature consists in the willing. Thus, if a man wills to murder another, though he do not succeed, we pronounce him guilty. But something more than the willing is needful to the completion of the act. So, in a dream, or in a paralysis, one wills to run. But is the willing, the running? The willing is one thing; the actual doing, another; though the guilt or the virtue of external actions is wholly in the will, or rather the intention. And so, in things merely mental. A man puts forth a volition to repent. Is that volition the whole of the act? What if he does not succeed? Where, then, is the act? Or, will you deny that any one ever fails in such an attempt? Ask men, and see; for this is a question to be settled by experience, not by abstract speculation.

If, then, we are to judge of God’s agency by our own, how can we fail to admit a distinction between willing and doing? And, at all events, how can the man who attempts

to prove the negative side of the proposition, in regard to God, imagine he has done it by these human analogies? True enough, it cannot cost Omnipotence the painful effort it costs us in executing our desires; much less can there be such failures. But the perfect ease with which Omnipotence wields things, does not prove that there can be no difference between the willing and the wielding. And though we may well express our astonishment at the facility and the unerring certainty with which God energizes, by saying, figuratively, that he has only to will and it is done, yet who can feel it safe, in such a case as this, to reason from his own figures of rhetoric! We need something more substantial in these "reasonings high of will," especially in proving a negative. Thus, for aught our reason or experience can tell to the contrary, God may prefer, on the whole, the existence of sin; and, willing to show his wrath and make his power known, he may endure with much long-suffering, the vessels of wrath fitted by themselves and the devil for destruction; while his willing does not fit them, in any such sense as he fits the vessels of mercy, whom he not only wills, but prepares, unto glory. And, most assuredly, God no where says, either literally or figuratively (though men have supposed he did), that it is only for him to will and it is done. This brings us to Dr. E.'s biblical argument, which we shall give entire.

"Moses represents creation as produced merely by a divine volition. God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And David represents God as producing the world in precisely the same manner. He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast. By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth. Thus it appears, from both Scripture and reason, that the divine agency consists in the divine will or choice, and not in the cause or consequence of the divine will or volition."—Vol. IV, p. 379.

Here is the whole argument from Scripture. And to what do these passages amount? Are they intended for any thing more than a sublime allusion to the infinite ease with which Omnipotence created the universe? Were they written for the purpose of teaching us any metaphysical dogma in regard to the recondite nature of power, either in God or man? And, if they were so intended, yet not a word is said, nor a hint given, in favor of the position, that all agency consists in mere volition. "God said,—he commanded,—he spake." Do these phrases mean willing merely? What if we were to

affirm, that they mean doing, in distinction from willing, and as a consequence of the willing? Would not the logic be even a little better, if good for any thing either way? And so the passages would prove the opposite of that for which they are adduced.

But while we honestly think, that neither of these passages was designed to touch the point, we believe there are other passages, which it will be found extremely difficult so to construe as to divest them of an implied distinction between willing and doing. The following is an example touching both human and divine agency: "It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." The obvious bearing of the passage on our point, is, that God, out of his own good pleasure, his preference, or will, as the source of his action, works in the Ephesians both to will right and do right. Thus the willing and the acting are distinct, both in God and in them. But if there is no such distinction, what more does Paul say than this,—It is God which, of his own will, willeth in you both to will and to will? The whole might be told in a more concise and sensible way, by saying, God willeth in you to will. And if this is all Paul meant, why has he used language which seems to imply more? If it be said, that he is here speaking according to the current language and common conceptions of men, then we say, that at least the common conceptions of men are against the theory we are opposing; and, that Paul did not think it worth while to oppose the common notions, though on a point so vital in theology.

But we are willing to leave the laboring oar in the hands of those who have assumed it. We say the negative is not yet proved; and until it is proved, either by Scripture or reason, we must be excused from believing the mighty consequences which hang upon it.

Nothing but the importance of the themes we have now dwelt upon, could have detained us so long upon them. There are also many other points, in which we cannot agree with him; but we are happy to add, that, for the most part, they are either so comparatively unimportant, or else the difference lies so much in the mere modes of presentation, that we are willing to pass the points unnoticed. Even his sermon, entitled, "Forgiveness of sins only for Christ's sake," we think far less objectionable in reality than in



appearance, and far less of a departure from the common views of good men, than has been supposed by many. And, having dwelt so long on what we deem erroneous, we think it but an act of justice to say, that, after all, we had rather take Dr. E.'s creed, than that of any other man we know of, who has written so extensively on the doctrines of the Bible. In addition to the able exhibitions of truth which his works contain, we regard them as of first-rate importance in teaching and even compelling men to think. He is always ready to give a reason for belief; and always, by his very manner, compels those who dissent from him, to give a reason for their dissent. No rest can their spirits find, till they either yield, or gain some independent standing. Hence, the shrewd discrimination so remarkably manifest in a large proportion of his disciples. We will not say, that none have been injured by an excessive fondness for his works. Certainly, some preachers, who seem as if never made for discrimination, have appeared oddly, when attempting to imitate him; and many have, doubtless, too implicitly relied on his authority, just as in the case of other great men.

But it has been objected, that Dr. E. is not a *safe* theologian. This we are disposed to dispute, with as much zeal as we have shown in disputing any of his untenable positions. For, if a safe theologian may properly be defined as one who most clearly displays and ably defends whatever of truth he finds in the system he espouses, and throws overboard, or makes shipwreck of nothing but error, then do we think Dr. E. one of the safest pilots that ever navigated the perilous sea of metaphysical divinity. What are the doctrines, of which we have been complaining? Nearly all of them the genuine offspring of false principles, long incorporated into the system he embraced. And if he has, unconsciously, shipwrecked such principles, instead of loss, there must be, in the end, immense gain to the cause of truth. Yes, he is the safest advocate for truth; nay, doubly safe, because the worst of all advocates for the error he may chance to embrace. And the more firmly he believes the error, the worse advocate of it does he become. He pushes it fearlessly to the ne-plus,—rides it to death; and all who can discern between the living and the dead, will then see its nature. For him to say and to show, that the two received principles we have considered, respecting the laws of nature and the

nature of God's agency, must lead to the conclusion, that God directly and irresistibly produces our evil exercises, must do more towards the destruction of those false principles, than could the assertions of an army of opponents to those principles. We think him, then, not only a safe, but a most salutary writer, especially to those possessed of independent thought, and of a good share of biblical knowledge. If you have wrong principles, you may expect to find them either refuted by him, or else carried legitimately to such an extreme, as to frighten you to a re-examination of their sandy foundation.\*

Speaking of the doctor's ingenuity in employing the Socratic method of reasoning with an opponent, Prof. Park says: "The following are some of his pithy questions, with the answers which followed them."

" 'Do you believe that God is the efficient cause of sin?' 'No,' was the reply. 'Do you believe that sin takes place according to the usual laws of nature?' 'Yes.' 'What are the laws of nature, according to Newton?' 'They are the established modes of the divine operation.' 'Do you approve of that definition?' 'Yes.' 'Put those things together.' Dr. E. was always satisfied, if a man would adopt the common definition of the laws of nature, and would believe that sin takes place according to these laws. Again, he once asked a teacher of theology, 'Do you believe that God is the efficient cause of sin?' 'No.' 'Do you believe that he created the world by his mere volition; that he willed, and it was done?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe that his will is creative; that he has only to put forth a volition for an event, and the event takes place?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe, that, on the whole, he willed sin to exist?' 'Yes.' 'Was not his will creative, then?' Pause.—'Is there any more harm in causing a thing to be, than in willing it to be?' Pause.—'My theory is, that God causes moral evil, in the act of willing it; and you believe that he performs that act. If it be wrong to cause the evil, it is wrong to will it. I believe that he caused, it in no sense morally different from that in which you believe he willed it. Where, then, is the great discrepancy between you and me?' "

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\* Since writing the above, we have seen a very severe article on our author's works in the last number of the *Princeton Review*, from which we make the following extract:

"It was not from dulness that the great minds of the Dordrecht Synod failed to reach those points which Emmons laid open. They saw them. What was it which they did not see, of the tendencies of their most unwarranted speculations! They saw and shuddered. They looked over the brink, but they beheld an abyss, and they returned. They distrusted their sounding line, when its lead sank into the depths of divinity, and ceased to read (reel?) off the fathoms, when they found themselves declaring falsehood. They revered positive statements of revealed truth, as superseding all argument. Hence, when weary and astounded at the seeming issue of some of their flights, they alighted on the solid supports of revelation."

What a pity such a man as Dr. E. had not been present in the venerable synod! Perhaps some of its divines might, in consequence, have been involved in some such dialogue as that which immediately ensues in our text.

He has been arraigned for an excess of philosophy. But here, again, we would plead for his acquittal, or at least for a change in the indictment. For every man has his philosophy, and that, just about in proportion to the extent of his thinking. It is for philosophy, not for the want of it, that such theologians as Paul arraign the pretenders to wisdom. If a man's philosophy is right, the truly inductive, with the Bible for his store-house of facts, the more of it, the better. Where Dr. E. exhibits a "philosophy, falsely so called," let him be condemned for the quality, not the quantity.

The mechanical execution of these volumes is beautiful. In justice, however, to all three of the writers, the proof-reader must allow us to say, that we have here and there met with such a typographical error as always infringes most rudely on the rhetorical, the logical, or the delicately chaste, sensitiveness of such writers as Prof. Park, Dr. Emmons, and Dr. Ide, when found in their productions.

As to purchasing these works, we would say, as the best advice we can give to every young theologian, by all means secure them if you can; and if you cannot, then borrow them. You will hear Emmons and Emmonism talked of, as long as you live; and it may be well to be able to talk some yourself. Why should you be ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, on any such life-long theme, even if you take no special interest in the theme?

And, finally, as to the use to be made of these works, when possessed. Read, we would say, and think; talk on the matter and the manner,—and with the more, and the more diverse minds, the better, if you would secure yourself, if yet young, from the folly of either a wholesale rejection, or adoption of his creed, or his manner of preaching it. A few men we have seen, of an insulated theological education, who seemed as absolute bigots to the Doctor's unique and unvarying mode of sermonizing, as they were charged with being to the peculiarities of his creed. They would not think of being moved or instructed by truth in any other form, much less of attempting any other, however various the text, the subject, the occasion, or the taste of the audience. But for a man to be trained to think for himself, and believe for himself, and then to be himself, in the pulpit and out of it, is one among the many happy results to be

expected from the right use of so original and powerful an author. He used frequently himself to say, the worst books are the best for a student, as they compel him to think. But if his own good productions can be incidentally turned to the same account, so much the better. And, as we have already sufficiently intimated by our objections to some things, we fear there is at least error enough, old and new, in this treasure, to keep open the eyes of every one who possesses power of vision to be his own eclectic. Though by no means Emmonites, yet it is with gratitude and admiration we look on the works he has left us; and it is with the ardent prayer, that all which he would now leave unblotted, were he again to visit our earth, may be imbibed and proclaimed by every preacher, in every denomination, who shall read his works, in this and in coming ages.

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### ARTICLE III.

#### TRAITS OF THE LIFE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

*Traits of the Life of the Early Christians.* By Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the German, by the Editor.

The design of the following pages is to show, from the testimony of the Fathers, the influence of Christianity on the lives of its early professors. The questions, how they understood their obligations, and how they fulfilled them, furnish matter for interesting investigation. The habits of those who lived near the apostolic age, may be regarded as involving the apostles' exposition of the claims of religion. The early disciples, doubtless, were such as the apostles taught them to be. Religion demands nothing less than they yielded to it. We trust the contemplation of these memorials of a consistent Christianity will prove both pleasant and profitable. Every one must admire the beautiful simplicity of the primitive saints; the strength of their faith; their stern adhesion to their principles; their mutual love; and the striking exhibition



of their piety in their lives. With them, religion was not a profession; but a visible reality. It made them what they were. They could not be mistaken for men of the world. They led a higher life. The distinctive traits of the gospel might be discovered, from the manner in which they exemplified them. Their light shone, so that God was glorified. The church, as it is, may learn some useful lessons, by studying the pattern of the quiet but efficient holiness of its earlier stages.—*Tr.*

GENERAL INFLUENCES OF THE DIVINE WORD ON THE LIFE  
OF THE FIRST CONFESSORS.

He who has compared his state, as he was, in blind heathenism, with what he has become, through Christianity, must be best able to speak from his own experience, of the influences of Christianity. Cyprian, afterwards bishop of Carthage, who became a Christian in advanced manhood, in writing\* to a fellow Christian, once a pagan, thus describes them: "I was in obscure night, in blind unconsciousness; estranged from truth and light. It then seemed to me impossible that we should be born again, and animated to a new life, as the divine mercy promised; that, with the same external nature, there should be a new inner man. How is it possible, I said to myself, that one should lay aside at once that which has become natural to him? Pride, avarice, ambition, lust, the love of pleasure, continually exert their influences upon man. How should he, at once, liberate himself from them all? Indeed, I was accustomed to regard that which was bad in myself, as my nature; and, despairing of reformation, I had ceased to strive against it. But when light from above flowed into my heart, when the Holy Spirit had created me a new man, that which before seemed to me doubtful, became, in a wonderful manner, certain. I saw light, where before I had perceived nothing but darkness. That which formerly appeared impossible, became easy. Hence, the conviction was forced upon me, that my past life, in the service of sin, proceeded from the earth and the flesh; but that my present life, animated by the Holy Ghost, proceeded truly from God. We speak not this boastfully; we only wish to give thanks to God for the gift of his grace.

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\* Ep. ad Donat.

That we begin now to sin no more is the effect of faith ; as our former life of sin was the effect of human error. From God, yea, from God, is all our power. From him we have life and strength, and we trust in him for the future. If we remain true to the way of righteousness, if we direct our whole heart to God, we have constantly more and more power to do, as grace flows in upon us more and more abundantly. For heavenly blessings are not limited by measure, like earthly ones. Always, without measure, the divine Spirit flows in, if our heart only thirsts, and is open to receive it. In proportion to our faith, are the rich communications of grace which we enjoy."

Justin, the martyr, who lived in the first half of the second century, says : \* " We, who were once slaves of lust, now have our chief joy in a pious life. Once, we loved gain above every thing else ; now, we give our possessions for the common good, and distribute to every one who is needy. Once, we hated and murdered one another ; we would not receive into our houses people of foreign climes, because they had different customs from our own. Now, since the appearance of Christ, we permit them to be our guests. We pray for our enemies. We strive to convince those who hate us unjustly ; so that, living according to the glorious teaching of Christ, they may obtain the joyful hope of a participation in the blessings which are prepared for us by God Almighty." " Christ commanded us to use no violence, and not to return evil for evil. He exhorted us, by our patience and gentleness to convert all men. In many among us, we can show you that this has actually been done. They have been changed from violent and tyrannical men, and subdued, while they have either observed the steadfast endurance of Christian neighbors, or have become acquainted with the extraordinary patience of Christian travellers, suffering injustice, or have seen the conduct of the Christian under various circumstances, in the intercourse of life."

Tertullian, who lived in the latter part of the second century and the beginning of the third, in his *Apology* to the heathen, † says : " Men wonder to see those, who were formerly idle and dishonest, reformed at once ; but they are more disposed to wonder, than to imitate them. Some are

\* *Opera*, ed Colon., pp. 61, 63. † *Ad Nationes*, Lib. I, cap. 4. *Apolog.*, cap. 3.

more taken up with their hatred of the Christian name, than with their own advantage. The husband, who no longer has occasion for jealousy, casts off his wife who has been made chaste by Christianity. The father, who formerly bore with the disobedience of his son, disinherits him, having become obedient. The master, who once endured patiently the bad servant, dismisses him, having grown faithful. In proportion as one is reformed by Christianity, he is hated."

**CHRISTIANITY A LIGHT FOR ALL MEN WITHOUT DISTINCTION.\***

"Every Christian mechanic has attained to the knowledge of God, and reveals to you every thing which it is necessary for you to know of God,—notwithstanding Plato says, that it is difficult to come to the knowledge of the Creator and Father of the universe; and impossible, though one has done so, to reveal him to all."†

**THE CHRISTIANS' VIEW OF THEIR CALLING IN THE WORLD.**

They viewed their calling chiefly as a holy warfare for God and Christ (*militia Dei et Christi*), against all the powers of darkness, and their influences. Peace with God and contest in the world was their allotment. When, before baptism, they engaged to renounce Satan, and his authority, and his works, as members of the kingdom of God to avoid all sin and to strive against it, they called this their sacrament (*sacramentum militare*, soldier's oath). When the teachers and leaders of

\* Tertull., Apolog., cap. 46.

† The apologists appealed with good reason to this proverb of the most exalted of the ancient philosophers (Plat., Tim., p. 303), in order to show evidently that Christianity has effected among men, what no philosopher held to be possible. All the lawgivers and wise men of antiquity agreed with Plato on this point; so also do the enlightened heathen in India at the present day. Although they themselves clearly apprehend the doctrine of one God, they hold it to be impossible to raise the mass immediately to the conception of the one source of all being. And therefore they leave the common people to their idolatry and superstition. Christianity alone has abolished this pernicious separation between a religion of the learned and a popular religion, by leading all alike to exercise a filial trust in God and filial love to him. Rom. 8: 15. Gal. 4: 6. The apostle Paul, in Col. 3: 11, has expressed, in the most lively manner, the contrast to that separation which prevailed in the ancient world, and which was, under their systems, necessary. In regard to the new creation which Christ effects in our nature, there is no difference between the cultivated Greek and the rude Scythian, between bond and free. They are alike destitute of that true, inward holiness with which God is pleased. They all owe their redemption, in like manner, to the divine love, which interested itself in guilty man. They must renounce all that they were formerly, in the condition of the old man, in order to become new creatures only through Christ, to begin a new life, alone in and from his Spirit. Christ is all and in all.

the church exhorted the Christians steadfastly to confess their faith, even in the face of death, to keep themselves from all practices of the heathen, and from the infection of the vices which prevailed in the heathen world, they reminded them of that first engagement of their Christian warfare.\* “Even in the engagement which we made at our baptism, we were called to *contend* in the service of the living God.”

#### THE CHRISTIANS IN RELATION TO HEATHEN GOVERNMENT.

In a period of slavery and of corrupt morals, when the fear of man ruled, instead of the fear of God, and fidelity and uprightness of life had vanished, the the Christians continued to distinguish themselves by the conscientious fulfilment of all duties to the government, and by a steadfast refusal of obedience in those things which were opposed to their conviction of the divine doctrine.

Tertullian says:† “We must reverence the emperor, as one appointed by our Lord. I can with the more reason call him our emperor, because he is appointed by our God.” To the complaint, that much was withdrawn from the revenues of the heathen temples by the Christians, he replies, how much the state gains by them, through the conscientious payment of taxes and customs, which others, by false testimony, keep back! No power on earth could induce the Christians to perform the religious rites of the heathen, according to the command of the emperors, in order to show to the latter those idolatrous marks of esteem, which a heathenish obsequiousness had invented. “I will call the emperor my lord,” says Tertullian,‡ “in the sense in which this word is used in common life; but not, if one would force me to apply this name to him as a proof of divine honor. Beyond this, I am free from him; for my Lord is only one, the almighty and eternal God, who is his Lord also.” The Christians spoke thus, even in view of death: “We honor the emperor; but we can fear only the one God and Lord in heaven.”§

The serenity and animation with which the Christians died for their faith, and their heroic courage under the most cruel tortures, were a phenomenon the more remarkable in that enervated age, when the impulses which had animated the

\* Tertull., ad Martyr., c. 3.

† Apolog., c. 34.

‡ Apolog., c. 33.

§ Act. Mart. Scillitan. Ruinart, p. 80.



ancient Romans to splendid deeds, the desire of fame, patriotism, and the love of freedom, no longer existed, and frigid selfishness had taken their place. Hence the courage of the Christians was denominated, by cold and enervated men, obstinacy and rudeness. "Such hardness of soul," they used to say, "belongs to the old heroic age, and is not suited to an age of peace and of civilization."\* Lucian, a reviler of Christianity and of all religion, ridiculed the Christians,† because they despised death, in the confidence that they should live for ever, and, in their whole existence, be immortal.

Let us indulge ourselves with a nearer view of some of the characteristics of the Christians under persecutions. Polycarp, an aged man of ninety years, during the violent persecution which befel the Christian church under the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, after the middle of the second century, was with his church in Smyrna, of which he had been the bishop for many years, when the fury of the heathen demanded his death. He chose quietly to await the destiny which God had appointed for him. But the affection of his parishioners compelled him to flee to a neighboring country-house, where, in prayer, day and night, he prepared himself for whatever might befall him. When the heathen sought for him here, the love of the brethren compelled him to take refuge in another country-house. If he were discovered in this, he might flee again; but he would not; for he said: "The will of the Lord be done." He received his persecutors in a friendly manner, caused food and drink to be set before them, and begged them to enjoy themselves, and to grant him an hour only for quiet prayer. Full of the grace of the Lord, he prayed with such fervor, as to move even his persecutors; and many of them lamented that they were to put to death so venerable and pious an old man. When he appeared before the governor, and the latter urged him to deny Christ and to blaspheme, he said, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he has done me nothing but good: how then can I speak reproachfully of him, my Lord and Saviour?" Polycarp appeared full of confidence and serenity. When the governor threatened to put him to a violent death, his countenance brightened. When he came to the fagots, and they were about to fasten him to the stake, he said, "Let me not be bound. He, who has given me

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\* Tertull., *ad Nationes*, v. 1, 18.† *De morte Peregrini*.

power to bear the fire, will also give me power to stand firmly to the stake without this chain." His last words were: "Father of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, through whom we have obtained knowledge of thyself! God of all the spirits in heaven, and of all the just who live before thee! I praise thee that thou hast counted me worthy, this day and this hour, to take part, in the number of thy witnesses, in the cup of Christ. I praise thee for all things, through the eternal priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son." And when he had said Amen, the fire was kindled.\*

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, addressing a Christian congregation in Africa (A. D. 257), at a period when the breaking out of persecution threatened its dissolution, says: "Let no one of you, dearly beloved brethren, be troubled, though he cannot see the brethren assembled, and hear the sermon of the bishop. We cannot all continue together. It is not permitted to us to shed the blood of others; but perhaps we must be ready to give up our own. Wherever, in that event, one of the brethren may be compelled to be absent, in body, not in spirit, from the church, let not his solitude alarm him. He is not alone, who has Christ for his companion in flight. He who holds in himself the temple of God, wherever he may be, is not without God."†

In the last letter of Cyprian to his church (A. D. 258), from which he had retired for some time, that he might not be summoned to another place to die, he says: "I have long removed myself from you, because it becomes the bishop to confess Christ in the place where he has presided over the church of Christ; that the whole church may be honored by the confession of their bishop in the midst of them. His confession at such a time he utters under the guidance of the divine Spirit, as if it were the confession of all. It is my sincerest wish, I pray without ceasing, that, in that extremity, I may make confession for you and for myself, and then suffer and go to the Lord. But ye, dearest brethren, maintain peace and order, according to the doctrine of Christ, which ye have often heard from me. Let no one of you expose his own life. Only when seized by the heathen must he speak. Then the Lord who dwells in us speaks through us."

Tertullian, to the Christians in prison, says: "Dark is the prison; but ye have light in yourselves. Ye wear fetters;

\* From the epistle to the church at Smyrna.

† Cyprianus, Ep. 56.



and instruction, the holy Scriptures. Ministers were sent into the prisons, to read and explain the word of God to the confessors, weakened by tortures. They held this to be so much the more necessary, because they knew how easily the bad combines itself with that which is best in us ; how universal admiration, and the consciousness of having done well amid difficulties, foster spiritual pride, unless a man knows the true condition of his heart, according to the light of the holy Scripture, and carefully watches over himself.\*

Every Christian, on a journey, who came into a strange city, first of all sought out the church ; and, even though he came from the remotest regions, if he could show a testimonial from his bishop, he found a fraternal reception. Provision was made for all his wants, both of soul and body. Such as had followed an employment, before coming over to Christianity, which seemed inconsistent with that which is required of a Christian, as the employment of an astrologer, or of an actor in the often obscene dramas of the heathen, if they could enter upon no other, were supported by the church ; or the assistance, necessary to their being able to take up another kind of business, was given them. Those, also, who, during persecution, could not pursue their business, were, in the meanwhile, sustained from the church-funds. And, after the persecution had ceased, they received as much as they needed to commence their business again.† This benevolence of the Christians was not confined to each particular church. If a smaller and poorer church was not able to meet a necessity within its limits, if it was unequal to a pressing emergency, application was made to a bishop of one of the richer cities, who communicated the circumstance to his church, and soon received generous free-will offerings, both from the clergy and the people. Thus Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, was called upon for help, by some of the churches in Numidia, for Christians in captivity among Barbarians, but whom these churches were not able to ransom. Cyprian soon sent them more than four thousand dollars, with the following words : ‡ “ We are bound to view the imprisonment and sufferings of our brethren, in this time of danger, as our own ; for we are members of one body. Even if love were not sufficient to move us to help our

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\* Cyprianus, Ep. 10.

† Ibid., Ep. 61, 32.

‡ Ibid., Ep. 60.



brethren, we must consider that they who are in prison are God's temple. In our imprisoned brethren we must see Christ; and ransom him from prison, who has ransomed us from the danger of eternal destruction. We must willingly give our money for him, who for us has given his blood. We wish, indeed, that such events might not happen; and that our brethren might be delivered, by the power of God, from such dangers. But if any thing should again occur for the trial of our faith and love, delay not to inform us. Be assured, that all our brethren here pray that similar circumstances may not arise again. But if they should arise, we shall be glad generously to afford our aid."

Although the fraternal interest of the Christians extended itself particularly to those with whom they were united in the holiest ties, they knew that the love of the Christian must extend to all men, after the example of him whom he is bound to resemble, and whose image he is to exhibit in his life. Even the heathen were not excluded from their benevolence.\* Shortly after a violent persecution of the heathen against the Christians, a plague broke out at Carthage, by which many were carried off. Among the heathen, governed by mere selfishness, every one thought only of his own preservation, and anxiously sought to avoid the infection. The dying were thrown by their relations into the highways; and no one ventured to perform the last rites for the dead. The streets were filled with dead bodies, so that the air became polluted. But Cyprian called together his church, and said to them: "It is nothing great, if we show only to our brethren the love which we owe them. He only can reach perfection, who does something more than the publican or the heathen; who, overcoming evil with good, and following the example of the divine mercy, loves even his enemies; who, according to the exhortation of our Lord, prays for the salvation of his persecutors. God causes his sun to rise upon all, and gives rain for the seed, not only to those who obey him, but also to those who are estranged from him. How should not he, who claims to be a son of God, imitate his Father's example? We must act worthily of our origin. In order to prove ourselves born again from God, we must manifest our relationship to that good Father by copying his goodness." Stimulated by these words of their revered bishop, the

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\* Tertull., *Apol.*, c. 42.

Christians, rich and poor, furnished money and help, to bury the bodies of their persecutors, and to rescue the city from the danger of a more terrible devastation.\*

THE EARLY CHRISTIANS' VIEW OF THEIR CALLING AS PRIESTS.

"We are the true worshippers of God, the true priests, who, praying in the spirit, from the Spirit of God, present the only sacrifice which he desires. Such a sacrifice, flowing from the fulness of the heart, from a pure mind, from love, accompanied by good works, must we bring to the altar of God, and we shall obtain every thing from him."†

DESCRIPTION OF THE JOY OF THE CHRISTIANS, IN CONTRAST WITH HEATHEN AMUSEMENTS.

"How art thou so ungrateful, that thou art not satisfied with so great joys given thee from God, and dost not acknowledge them? For what can give greater joy than the revelation of truth, the detection of error, the forgiveness of sins, and reconciliation with God, thy Father and Lord? What greater joys are there, than the contempt of every thing earthly, true freedom, a clear conscience, and a contented life, free from the fear of death?"‡

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE, ACCORDING TO TERTULLIAN.

"What union between two believers! One hope, one life in the service of one Lord, one union of body and spirit. They pray and fast together. They incite and encourage each other. They go to the church in company. They appear together before God. They share their trials and their joys. There is no secret between them. Their psalms and hymns resound, and they strive which shall praise God the best. Christ rejoices while he sees and hears, and sends them his peace. Where two are united, he is there with them; and where he is, the power of evil cannot come."§

THE CHRISTIAN LADY IN EARLY TIMES.

"She visits the sick brethren in every street, even in the poorest houses. She provides for the entertainment of Christians, coming from abroad. She nourishes the martyrs in prison."||

\* Pontii vita Cypriani.  
culis, c. 2, 9.

§ L. II, c. 9.

† Tertull., de Orat., c. 22.

‡ Tertull., de Specta-  
|| De cultu Fém., c. 11, 12.

Such was the influence of the word of God, at the time when the church had no weapons to conquer the hearts of men but the power of this very word, which was disclosed in the doctrine and the life of its preachers and confessors. That was the golden age of the church.

[The passages which follow are from another article in the "*Gelegenheitschriften*" of Dr. Neander, entitled, Traits of the life of St. Chrysostom. Chrysostom lived at an age somewhat later than the one to which the preceding pages refer. He was born A. D. 344, and died about A. D. 407. The simplicity and purity of the church had begun to be corrupted. It is interesting, however, to notice the devotedness of the Christian teacher of so early a period, and to contemplate both his views of Christian duty, and their manifestation in some of the disciples. The transitions in the successive quotations are somewhat sudden and unnatural; but not more so in the appendage, than in the former parts of this article.]

#### INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MOTHERS.

Anthusa, the mother of Chrysostom, did much to implant early in his mind that religious feeling, which afterwards yielded such noble fruit. Of her, after she had lived a widow twenty years, from her youth, Libanius, a heathen and a learned man, and by no means favorable to the Christians, could say, "What women the Christians have!" (Chrysostom, Lib. ad. vid. junior., c. II.) In the education of the great men of the church of that period, Christian mothers generally had great merit. In their early and tender youth, they protected them from the infection of heathenism, to which their husbands, in some cases, were still attached; or, at least, from the corruptions and the thoughtless habits of the age. Thus the pious Monica, by her Christian gentleness and resignation, wrought upon the mind of Augustine, when a child; and though her efforts were long to no purpose, she had the joy of seeing them bring forth fruit at last. So also, Nonna, who by the influence of her pious life had turned her husband from heathenism, wrought upon the mind of Gregory of Nazianzum. This long wished-for son, she carried to the altar immediately after his birth, and, laying under his hand a book containing the gospels, conse-

crated him to the service of God. This early consecration had an important influence on his whole life. So also the mother of the champion, Theodoret.

CHRYSOSTOM'S VIEW OF THE DUTY OF CHRISTIANS IN THE  
WORLD.

It was his most earnest endeavor to lead not only the clergy, but all Christians, to view the advancement of the kingdom of God among men, as their calling; and to persuade every one, from the position in which Providence had placed him, to contribute his influence, that from each individual family true Christianity might be diffused abroad. "Let every house be a church, consisting of men and women. Count it no obstacle that thou art the only man in the house, and thy wife the only female. For Christ says: 'Where two are assembled in my name, I am in the midst of them.' And, where Christ is, there is a true church."

In another sermon (Hom. 20, Act. Ap., c. 4), he says: "Nothing is more chilling than a Christian who does not labor for the salvation of others. How can one be called a Christian, who is not useful to others? If the leaven, hidden in the meal, does not communicate its own quality to the whole mass, can it be called leaven? If the balsam does not send forth its fragrance to all that come near it, is it balsam? Say not, it is impossible for me to win others. If thou art a true Christian, it is much more impossible not to do it. As that which is in the nature of things must necessarily ensue, so also this; for the nature of the Christian demands it. If our own Christianity is such as it should be, this result cannot fail; for the light of the Christian cannot remain hid."

Shortly before a tumult, the consequences of which might have been very dangerous to the city of Antioch, Chrysostom, as if by an almost prophetic warning, exhorted the citizens to labor with all their might for their mutual reformation. In the year A. D. 387, in a sermon preached on a fast-day (ad Pop. Antioch, Homil. I, § 12), he says: "Say not to me this chilling word, 'what have I to do?' With Satan only we have nothing common; but with all men we have much in common; for they have, in common with us, the same nature, the same Lord, the same obligation. They are invited to the same blessings. Let us, therefore, not say that we have no concern with them. It is a sentiment of the



adversary. It is an infernal misanthropy. I assure you, that if ye all, who are present, would divide among yourselves the care of the salvation of this city, all would soon be well. One man, inflamed with holy zeal, might reform a whole nation."

ANXIETY OF THE CHRISTIAN PASTOR FOR HIS HEARERS.

Chrysostom, anticipating danger which threatened him, said: "I am ready to shed my blood, if I can only prevent sin. I am not troubled about hatred and war. One thing only lies near my heart, the improvement of my hearers."

METHOD OF COMBATING ERROR.

"Show him, who is in error, that that which, from prejudice or ignorance, he holds to be right, is contrary to the doctrine of God. If he admit it, thou hast provided both for his salvation and thy own. If he will not admit it, proceed to apply it, only with patience and gentleness, that thou mayst not have to give account for his soul to the eternal Judge; not with hate and persecution, but with the manifestation of pure and true love. We gain much, showing love and the true spirit of a disciple of Christ. John 13: 35." "We must condemn false doctrines; but in every way spare the men who espouse them, and pray for their salvation." (De Anathemate.) He recommended Christian mildness and gentleness, as the best means of converting the heathen. "Let us follow the example of the apostles. Though it is not a time of contention, it is a time to show confidence. If, therefore, we meet the heathen, let us oppose them without anger and severity; for if we do it with anger, there is no more confidence; but we seem to be moved by passion. But if it is done with mildness and gentleness, then is there true confidence." (Hom. 17, Act. Ap., § 3.)

In another sermon, "Even if thou workest miracles, and whatever thou mayst do, the heathen will not admire thee so much, as when they see in thee gentleness and mildness. Nothing has power to draw men like love. If one does not come immediately to the faith, still do not desire every thing at once; but lead him on gradually by love." (Ep. I, ad Cor. Homil., 33, § 5.)

## ARTICLE IV.

## IMMORTALITY OF THOUGHT.

THE power of mind, as manifested in its capabilities of improvement, of action, of influence, of sensation, of discovery, and of recollection, would open a fine field for a train of consecutive articles, which would doubtless afford both instruction and entertainment. But the copiousness of such a theme, together with the limited space allotted us, has determined us to confine ourselves to the last branch, viz., the power of recollection. And, as the extent of this power is not so much disclosed by direct feats of recollection, in the present encumbered state of the human mind, as by collateral facts and considerations, it will be our purpose to show that thought is immortal.

We use the term *mind*, not with reference to the intellectual powers, as distinguished from the sensibility and the volitions, but to denote that nature in which all those qualities, that elevate man above the beasts that perish, have their foundation. These qualities inhere in the same substance, as the hardness, elasticity, color, and other properties of a rock or tree, inhere in the same substance or essence. To analyze this substance, that we call mind or soul, is impossible. Indeed, all human science is confined to the properties of things, never being able to penetrate so far as their essence. Still, that there *are* souls, we can no more mistake, than that there are rocks, or trees. Thought, memory, desire, hope, fear, veneration, and all the features of moral and intellectual natures, must have their basis in something real and substantial. This something it is, which has effected all the changes of art and industry upon this earthly ball; which both constructs and guides the ship over the trackless main, by laws of its own discovering; which wields the lightnings of heaven at its pleasure; which has filled the world with its feats of intelligence and its monuments of greatness; this mysterious something, we call mind or soul, as distinguished from its bodily casement. Its capabilities of action, knowledge and sensation place it at an inconceivable distance above all the

other tenants of this lower world. Thought can wander in a moment over distances so vast, as to require ages for light and electricity to traverse.

A *power* of mind is the property of giving or receiving changes, it being, in the one case, active, and, in the other, passive. Mind, however, in its most perfect state, as existing in God, imparts, but is above receiving, changes. "He is in one mind and none can turn him." Like the sun, he throws the beams of his throne over immensity, without receiving a reflection in return. The created universe is incapable of throwing back upon him a new thought, sensation or emotion. Those changes which are implied in the increase of knowledge, in the fluctuations of purpose, in the augmentation or diminution of happiness, or even perhaps in the succession of ideas, implying imperfection, cannot be predicated of God. Mind, in its most exalted state, has every thing to give, but nothing to receive.

In no point of view is a power of mind more tangibly seen, than in the changes which it effects upon matter. My mind wills to lift my hand, and the decree is instantly obeyed. Millions of tons of earth are yearly displaced along the line of our canals and railroads, in obedience to the decisions of mind. Rough masses of rock, cragged logs and trees, together with the mire on which we tread, suddenly spring up, at the bidding of mind, into the palaces, spires and elegant saloons of a city, to feed the coarse pride of worldlings, and afford shelter to beauty, fashion and refinement. Thus, mind is a greater wonder-worker than Aladdin's lamp, which converted stones into gold, and carpeted the earth with velvet for the tread of kings and queens. And what we see on the earth's surface, is doubtless but the feeblest intimation of the action of mind upon matter, on the broader scale of the universe. The Infinite Mind throws worlds from his fingers, twirls them round their proper centres, and produces the mystic dance of the spheres, with greater ease than the boy spins his top. And, from intimations in Scripture of the power of angelic minds over matter, it is doubtless true as it is poetical, that,

"The least of them could wield these elements,  
And arm him with the force of all their regions."

Indeed, as motion is not a property of matter, how are we to account for the activity of those ponderous orbs which

adorn our skies, but by ascribing it to the energy of mind? Such reflections as these may prepare us for the astounding fact, that the soul of man is yet to recover from the ashes of forgetfulness all its lost stores of thought and sentiment.

We use the term *thought*, not with reference to every fugitive conception which flits before the mind's view, but only as including those which effect a permanent lodgement in it, so as to contribute to its intellectual and moral development. The eye, in surveying a landscape, takes in ten thousand objects, which leave no trace behind. It is only the few, that are noticed with distinctness, and, in their minuter outlines, that imprint their images so deeply as to admit of their being recalled. So of our mental perceptions. Among the innumerable images that flit before the vision, but few effect a permanent lodgement in the soul. Now, we use the term *thought*, not with reference to this migratory tribe of perceptions, but to denote the permanent settlers of the soul, which go through with the process of naturalization, so as to blend with its habits and its constitution.

1. To be assured of the immortality of thought as thus explained, let us reflect a moment on *the process of education*. The soul of man, beginning its career without a stock of ideas, has every thing to acquire. Its knowledge, its skill, its moral feelings, its social affections, and all its capabilities, are the work of education. It has a wonderful facility of supplying the defects with which it begins its career. Thoughts pour in upon it through all its bodily senses. They not only enter, but imprint their images, and leave their contributions to its stores, where no unfriendly hand can efface them, and where thieves cannot break through nor steal. Tyrants may bind the body, but cannot restrain the free-born mind. As the nectar of innumerable flowers is accumulated in the sack of the bee, and added to its winter stores, so every object in heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth; and all the events and incidents of life, with which the mind comes in contact, pour into it, as a common receptacle, impressions of some kind.

Now, education, in its most comprehensive sense, is the aggregate result of all these impressions. And the process depends upon the tenacity of the mind in retaining them. If they were like the lines which school-boys draw in sand, to be effaced by the winds of heaven, there could be no educa-



tion ; but the imbecility of infancy would run throughout our threescore years and ten. Knowledge, character, expertness in art, and every thing which marks the maturity of mind, depend upon this tenacity of its impressions. It may not be able to revive them, so as to assign to each its origin ; but still, they are there, and there, too, as the basis of all its subsequent developments. They are written in a tablet of adamant, which, however covered at present with dust, to render them illegible, will stand out in bold relief when this dust is removed, and the soul rises to the unencumbered exercise of its faculties. The impressions of the first year of life stand side by side with those of the threescore and tenth ; as the inscriptions on an Egyptian pyramid, between which centuries intervened, are found in contact, holding up to all subsequent visitors the names of those who were ambitious of this rocky immortality.

Of the seventeen millions of people in these United States, the mental idiosyncrasy of no two is precisely alike. Even those who draw their impressions from the same nursery scenes, the same books and teachers, the same associates, and substantially the same training, are still different. The mind and its materials of thought are like bodies in chemical affinity, which together give a result different from either. These materials, after entering the mind, take the cast of its own peculiar characteristics ; while, in return, they open to the mind itself new channels of thinking and of resolve. A mind like that of Sir Astley Cooper could derive from the opportunity early afforded him of giving relief to a wounded man, the ideas and the impulses which made him the first surgeon of his age. Such an incident, however, to a mind differently constituted, might have awakened a horror of surgical operations, such as to extinguish any tendency to that profession which he might have previously felt. Another individual might have had all the separate elements of thought in the mind of a Shakspeare ; but only a Shakspeare could give them his own bewitching combinations. Facts like these show, that mind is not a passive recipient ; but *gives* as well as *receives*,—which accounts for the endless varieties of thought, sentiment and character, to which substantially the same materials of thinking give rise.

This process of education is carried on chiefly by means of two powers,—attention and combination,—and the strength

of the impression which a thought makes upon the mind, depends upon the degree of attention given it ; and this also is the principal help to retentiveness of memory. But combination is the power of putting the materials of memory into new shapes and attitudes, and constitutes what we call invention, or genius. A mind with great powers of combination, is like a kaleidoscope, capable of throwing a few things into a thousand different, but interesting and beautiful attitudes ; and is altogether more likely to work its way into new and undiscovered channels of knowledge, than the one which has vastly greater stores of memory, but is deficient in the tact of combining and using them.

Now, whether *in* school or *out*, in the learned professions, or in other callings, both these powers are continually operating in every individual, with more or less vigor ; and thus the process of education is never remitted. This is what gives man his character, imparts to him his mental and moral individuality, and renders him what he is, rather than another. If, therefore, the man himself is immortal,—a fact we assume in this argument,—how should not his thoughts be ? Will he not enter upon eternity with the tracery which time has drawn upon the tablet of his soul ? Will he leave himself behind at death ? Will he launch his bark upon the open sea of endless being, to meet the awards of eternity, with another character than he has constructed for himself, in the progress of his education here below ? And yet, all this must happen, if his thoughts, the component elements of his character, are not immortal.

2. Analogical evidence of the perpetuity of our mental stores may be found in the fact, that *matter* is *perpetual*. It is well understood, that the matter of this globe, though it has undergone myriads of changes since the creation, has not diminished the value of a particle. The friction of ten thousand revolutions has annihilated no part of its substance. And the innumerable changes which are going on around us, in earth, air, and ocean, though never remitted, still leave the globe in the full possession of its original gravity. The particles of decaying or burning solids, of evaporating fluids, and of exhaling animal and vegetable remains, are not lost ; but, after being for a time diffused through the atmosphere, are condensed in frigid aerial currents, when they descend, to irrigate the soil, and cover it with bloom and beauty. By

this process, the fuel we burn, the animal structures which we hide from our view, and all the particles susceptible of evaporation from the sun's rays, are converted into vegetable substance. This again, by ministering life to man and beast, passes into flesh, and blood, and bones, which, in their turn, are exhaled, or mixed with the soil ; and thus the outer crust of the globe, with its teeming population of vegetable and animal life, is undergoing a continual process of circulation, like the blood in the veins and arteries of the body.

Such is a specimen of the changes going on around us. All the bodies inhabited by the minds of former generations, having been resolved into their primeval elements, are now blown in the winds of heaven, washed in the ocean currents, embedded in the mountain ledges, or buried in the fertile valleys :

“ Where is the dust that has not been alive ?  
The spade, the plough, disturb our ancestors ;  
From human mould we reap our daily bread.  
The globe around earth's hollow surface shakes,  
And is the ceiling of her sleeping sons.”

Science has disclosed no process for the annihilation of matter. And revelation is equally silent on the subject ; except that it leads us to expect its change, or decomposition, so as to become new heavens and a new earth, to be the fitting abode of everlasting righteousness and peace.

If the least particle of crude matter, therefore, is preserved with so much care, can it be supposed, that thought will perish ? Are those stores of thought and sentiment, which the immortal mind acquires in the course of life, and by which its manly vigor is chiefly distinguished from its infantile imbecility, destined to a speedy and final extinction, while brute matter is so imperishable ? What ! is the substance composing the *bodies* of past generations given to immortality, while those *mental* stores, which are the sole basis of all that is great and splendid in human history, are consigned to hopeless oblivion ? Who can believe, that Boyle, and Bacon, and Newton, and Paul, when they stepped upon the shores of eternity, had their knowledge and experience reduced to a level with that of the infant of a day old ?

3. Even the *phenomena of present recollection*, as we experience them in ourselves, add confirmation to the doctrine in question. Our present inability to recall most of our past

trains of thought, makes it seem impossible that they should ever be recalled. We are led to inquire, what possible link can subsist between our mental constitution, and these lost stores of sentiment? By what means shall the fugitive conception return upon us, to darken, or illume, the chambers of thought and emotion?

But have we not already recovered no small share of our former stores of thought, which were as completely hid from our view as any thing that now lies forgotten? How do the thoughts and incidents of childhood, of which we had long remained unconscious, sometimes flash across the vision of the soul, with all their original freshness and vigor!

“Lull’d in the countless chambers of the brain,  
Our thoughts are linked by many a hidden chain;  
Awake but one, and lo, what myriads rise!  
Each stamps its image as the other flies;  
Each, as the various avenues of sense  
Delight or sorrow to the soul dispense,  
Brightens or fades; yet all, with magic art,  
Control the latent fibres of the heart.”

The visit to a familiar locality or an old friend, after a long separation, suggests a thousand incidents and circumstances which we had utterly forgotten. And, in ways we cannot explain, long and complex trains of thought are often aroused from the slumber of years, to surprise our solitude or cheer our despondency.

If such be our experience, therefore, in relation to a *part* of what we had forgotten, why may it not hereafter be in relation to the *whole*? Who can anticipate the changes which death will produce in the condition of our intellectual faculties? Even on earth, some situations are more friendly to recollection than others. During the quiet hour of night, in a state of repose and of unruffled meditation, or in the serenity of a calm, placid morning, while the robin is warbling his note of love upon our just awakened ear, and the cuckoo is singing his mournful ditty, past impressions come bounding in upon us in troops, and we live our whole of existence over again in a few short moments. How much more favorable to recollection are such seasons, than the hours of business, or of promiscuous intercourse in society!

And, how do we know but that the future state of mind will be most of all favorable to the recovery of its lost stores of thought and sentiment? Then, it will have escaped from



the dull organs of sense ; then, it will have cast off the coil of mortality ; yea, then it will have escaped from its prison of clay into that state of freedom and activity, which is the proper element of ethereal spirits. Its faculties, also, will doubtless be quickened to an activity more vigorous and commanding, and to perceptions more lucid and comprehensive, than any thing to be met with on earth. And, instead of anticipating the future and expatiating amid hoped-for scenes, the mind will be thrown back upon the past. Hope, lost in fruition or despair, will cease to hide the past behind the painted curtains of the future, and thus will leave memory to the undisputed dominion of the soul. How, then, should it be thought surprising, that the whole of its intellectual furniture will be recovered ? May not all be of service, in a way of admonition, instruction, or otherwise, in the onward career of eternity ?

In these remarks, we have omitted all inquiry into the philosophy of recollection, whether it be by suggestion, association, or otherwise. The fact is all we are after, that mind is so constituted as to render portions of its past exercises inseparable from its consciousness. This fact, however it be accounted for, suggests fair ground of conjecture, that its thoughts are, like its own nature, immortal. The pain of these thoughts may cease, just as we are now able to recollect, without grief, things that were once highly distressing. So, also, the pleasure of them may evaporate, as it has from many things that once gave us the greatest delight ; but the thoughts themselves will remain among the imperishable furniture of the soul. In cases of present forgetfulness, perhaps their obliteration is only apparent, owing to the encumbered state of mind in its material casement ; just as the grooves of a rock may seem obliterated, when they are only filled with earth. We find this to be the case in relation to those which we have already succeeded in recovering ; and why may it not be of the whole ? At all events, the present phenomena of recollection furnish important links to this chain of argument, that thought is immortal.

4. We have some facts in regard to the *influence of disease* in quickening the powers of recollection, which may throw further light upon this subject. If, when some of the ties between matter and mind are disturbed, or wholly sundered, the memory breaks out in unwonted feats of recol-

lection, is it not natural to suppose, that, when this faculty comes to be entirely disencumbered from the body, it will acquire greater vigor and comprehensiveness? If the bird flutters with unusual activity, when only a part of its fetters are broken, may we not expect it to soar aloft with a strong pinion, when the whole are removed?

Now, mind often displays, under the influence of disease, precisely such phenomena as these. Sick persons recall things, which in health they were incapable of remembering. A learned professor who had been sick a few years ago, stated that his mind never acted more vigorously than when he was the lowest. New mathematical relations opened upon his view, the most abstract and difficult problems were perfectly solvable, and he expatiated over fields of truth that he had never before explored. Past processes of thought bounded in upon him in troops, and upon all subjects his mind acted with unwonted ease and power.

Mr. Abercrombie, in his *Intellectual Philosophy*, gives some facts on this subject, which are directly in point. He mentions the case of a man who had been born in France, but had spent most of his life in England, and, for a number of years, had entirely lost the power of speaking French. But when under the care of Dr. Abernethy, on account of the effects of an injury of the head, he always spoke French." "A similar case occurred in St. Thomas' hospital, of a man who was in a state of stupor in consequence of an injury of the head. On his partial recovery he spoke a language which nobody understood, but which was soon ascertained to be Welsh. It was then discovered, that he had been thirty years from Wales, and, before the accident, had entirely forgotten his native language." "An Italian gentleman is mentioned by Dr. Rush, who died of the yellow fever in the city of New York, and who, in the beginning of his illness, spoke English, in the middle, French, but on the day of his death he spoke only Italian." In this case the memory appears to have receded to objects more and more remote, as the process of dissolution advanced to its final crisis.

We have no personal knowledge of animal magnetism, and have formed no opinion on the subject, one way or the other. But, if it be true, that it has discovered a method of disturbing those organs through which the soul usually acts,

it is by no means surprising that the phenomena of *clairvoyance*, second-sight, and similar freaks of intellect, are the consequence. For, in that case, it would accord to the numerous facts of somnambulism, which are equally remarkable, and which every generation has to record.

Now cases like these, which might be multiplied to almost any extent, show, that the recollective faculties do sometimes acquire vigor from the decay and derangement of the bodily functions. The displacing of a brick here and another there, only serves to give freer ingress to the light of an immortal day, and thus to quicken the energy and activity of the spiritual tenant within. When the whole falls to ruin, therefore, and the soul stands forth, a disembodied spirit, who can conceive the extent of its augmented energies? If a thing, made up of so many subtle parts as a lost language, may *now* be recovered through the action of disease, what feats of recollection may not the unencumbered soul be able to perform, in another world!

Who can conceive the energy and activity of an ethereal, immortal nature? Its movements exceed the rapidity of lightning. Perhaps it may traverse the distance to a fixed star, on wings as fleet as those which now bear its thoughts away to that distant point. Mighty energies obviously pervade the universe, agents proportionably more powerful as they are more subtle. The sun throws over the distance of more than ninety millions of miles, not merely the influence by which our planet is made an abode of animal and vegetable life, but which holds its ponderous gravity in abeyance, suspends it in ether, and hurls it through space with inconceivable velocity. Every point of seeming vacuum between the earth and sun, is traversed by a power more formidable than that of a bar of iron ten miles in diameter, stretching from the one to the other, to keep them in their moorings. Hence, where there appears to be nothing, the most powerful agents are sometimes at work.

And, from what we know of spirit, may we not expect it infinitely to exceed the powers of matter? Is it not the source of all power? And does not matter derive its energies from being acted upon by spirit? Amid a universe of such material wonders, therefore, how can we doubt, that mind, the noblest work of all, should recover its lost stores of thought and sentiment.

5. *The remedial economy*, as it is revealed in the gospel, is singularly adjusted to the doctrine in question. This economy assumes, on the credit of inspiration and miracle, not only that man is immortal, but that the consequences of what he is and does in the present life will run on in the endless track of eternity. It assumes, also, that being guilty, this perpetuity of the elements of his character will be attended by infinite and unending evil, both to himself as an individual, and to the universe. And the object of the remedial economy is to prevent this flow to eternity, not of thought itself, but of the bane arising from its guiltiness. All the divine arrangements with reference to the government of our race, from that "first disobedience, which brought death into the world and all our wo," to this day, have been directed to this end. The patriarchal history, the Mosaic ritual, the course of Providence in setting the day of adversity over against the day of prosperity, to chastise the pride and the insolence of man, the rise and fall of thrones, and, most of all, the events connected with the life, ministry, death, and resurrection of the Son of God, the establishment of his kingdom, and the measures employed to ensure its triumph over every other kingdom, all, are designed, not so much to confer any amount of temporal good, as to extract from the human soul itself those elements of evil which threaten to embitter its immortality. Its design is to present the soul faultless before the throne of divine glory with exceeding joy.

Now, whatever credit may be given these scriptural representations,—and these pages will probably meet the eye of no avowed disbeliever of them,—still, all must acknowledge, that they are singularly adjusted to the doctrine of the immortality of thought. For, if we are to lose at death, beyond the possibility of recall, the greater part of the earthly elements of our history, through the weakness of the recollective organs, where would be the chance of a flow to eternity of the consequences of our sin? We should escape, then, merely through forgetfulness that we were sinners. Punishment, under the government of God, is not an arbitrary provision, but results from fixed laws. If you annihilate from the guilty the memory of their crimes, you extract from remorse his poisonous tooth, and break up in morals the connection of antecedent and consequent. Memory is the bloodiest executioner that the guilty have to fear. And



hence, if the arm of his strength is to be paralyzed, and mind enters upon the higher walks of existence, under an oblivion of the greater part or all of its guilty stores, there would seem to be no adaptation between the nature of man and the wonderful provision which God has made for his restoration to a state of innocence.

But, once admit that our earthly accumulations of thought and experience are inseparable from our future consciousness, and that all our exercises of choice, with the motives which determined them, will go with us into eternity, and there would seem to be a reason for some great provision, to purify the sources of memory and to annihilate the consequences of guilt. If there is poison mingled largely with the sources of a river, great contrivance would be necessary to prevent its flow throughout the whole extent of its current. Now, such appears to be the design of the remedial system. It does not aim at bringing an oblivion over the guilty stores of depraved minds,—for Paul, doubtless, remembers in heaven that he once persecuted the Christians; but its object is to effect such a change in their character and condition, that they can remember all the evil they ever did, or ever thought, not merely without guilt, but with everlasting thanksgiving and praise for a final acquittal, and for positive innocence.

To effect a change like this, to leave the mental and moral history deeply and indelibly written in the tablet of the soul, and yet to render it innoxious to the guilty, was the great desideratum to be secured in the redemption of the human family. To supply this, the sacrifice of God's Son was devised, that the believer might remember, in connection with his guilt, the ample satisfaction thus made to the government, at whose bar he stands as a culprit condemned. But apart from the immortality of thought, all this stupendous provision would seem to be an unmeaning and uncalled for transaction.

Finally, if we admit into our argument *the doctrine of a future retribution*, as taught in the Scriptures, it will amount to demonstration, that thought is immortal. This doctrine involves the fact, that God will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or evil,—that he will judge the secrets of men by Christ Jesus,—and that there is nothing secret which shall not be made manifest, and nothing hid, which shall not be known, and come abroad.

Actions will not be judged in the mass, nor characters in the aggregate ; but in all the particularity of detail, and in all the minuteness of their connecting links and relations.

But, how is it possible for such a process of judgment to be instituted, without bringing to view all the stores of thought and sentiment, which are elementary to the character of those who are to be its subjects ? Can a forgotten crime awaken guilt ? Can a soul account for a thought, or a purpose, or a mental or moral state, which it cannot recall ? Can the merit or demerit of actions be determined, without taking into account the states of mind, the governing motives, and the actual circumstances in which it had its foundation ? The books, containing the chronicled events of this world, will be opened, in the mighty action of moral and intellectual natures, prompted by the Infinite Mind, in resuscitating from the ashes of forgetfulness all the buried treasures of thought, incidence, and circumstance, which had a bearing upon the guilt or innocence of man in the present world.

We see on this point, as well as many others, how nicely the doctrines of the Bible and the philosophy of human nature are suited to each other. What the results of education,—what the analogy of the perpetuity of matter,—what the facts of present recollection,—what the phenomena of diseased action,—what all these teach us to regard as true, the Scriptures pointedly affirm, on the independent basis of express revelation. Hence, the case in hand is like the doctrine of the soul's immortality, which, though a thousand things concur to establish it, nevertheless, is not fully proved, till we come to Joseph's new tomb, and find it vacated of its mighty tenant, coming up from its impregnable fastnesses, travelling in the greatness of his strength.

In conclusion, it may be seen, that this subject presents the most exalted views of our own nature. Our proudest doings on this footstool are the mere nestlings of a giant in his cradle. What, then, must be the strength and exaltation of our manhood's prime ? We think, purpose, live, act for eternity. We open our eyes upon a physical universe, replete with wonders. We read in the granite ledges, in the teeming population of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, in the bony frame-work in which life is manufactured, in the starry firmament, and even in those portions of organized and unorganized nature, which are too minute to be detected

without the most powerful microscopes,—in all these, we read the inscriptions of a mighty hand.

And when we turn from these grosser objects, to the department of mind and morals, we find still more to amaze and confound us. We see in ourselves the beginning of a thread of existence, which is to run on in the endless track of eternity, conveying to the most distant points of our vast career the moral and intellectual vibrations that we produce as we pass along. Truly, we are fearfully and wonderfully made.

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#### ARTICLE V.

##### ALISON'S HISTORY OF EUROPE.

*History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration in 1815. In ten volumes.*  
By ARCHIBALD ALISON, F. R. S. E. American edition.  
Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Harpers. New York. 1842-3.

THE appearance of the first numbers of the American reprint of the *History of Europe* furnishes us a fitting opportunity to call the attention of our readers to its character and contents. We do not attempt a review of the work; but seek only to set forth some of its features, particularly of those portions contained in the numbers already published in this country. The English and French editions have been extensively sold here, but they are exceedingly expensive,—especially the English; and are, of necessity, limited to few. The cheapness of the American edition, however, places the work within the reach of nearly all American readers. But cheapness, we feel bound to say, is almost the only merit of this edition. The type is exceedingly small, the paper poor, and the whole dress far from such as becomes the greatest historical work of our times.

The period described by Mr. Alison in the history of Europe, is certainly the most remarkable of modern times,—alike for its exalted virtues, and its shameless crimes,—for its sublime feats of intellect in every sphere of its exertion,—

for the great men it produced and displayed at the helm of states, in the chambers of senates, in the arts of diplomacy, and in the contests of war,—for the amazing development of national resources and of popular energy it every where exhibited,—and, last and most important of all, for the sublime and awful lessons it teaches of human nature,—of the terrific consequences of revolutionary ambition and national crimes, and of the workings of that high Providence, which rules the destiny of men and empires, and, amidst the wildest confusion of human affairs, still asserts its laws, and vindicates its eternal sovereignty. Indeed, over the whole range of history, there can scarcely be found an epoch, in which have been grouped together so great a number of magnificent characters, or of stirring events, all pervaded by the same fearful unity of action, and the same fierce intensity of passion. Considered as a theme for history, the period, which is perhaps most nearly parallel, is that of the decline and fall of the Roman empire,—a period which Gibbon, as he closes the last page of its gloomy annals, pronounces “the most awful scene in the annals of mankind.”

The two periods, as they lie pictured before us, each by the hand of a master historian,—while they agree in being alike disheartening to the hopes of philanthropy, and revolting to the feelings of piety, yet very widely differ in the features they present, and in the social and political lessons they are fitted to teach. The dismemberment of the empire of the Cæsars began amidst the thickest night of pagan antiquity, and was consummated only in the early twilight of Christianity. Its worst scenes are those of imperial tyranny and of barbarian war. Its most solemn lessons are of the evils of luxury, and of military ambition, of the blighting influences of despotic power, and of the utter instability even of the most gorgeous fabrics of civilization, unsupported by the principles of Christianity. The bursting forth of the long-pent fires of French enthusiasm, on the contrary, happened in the full meridian of European civilization, after Christianity had been preached in France for twelve centuries; and had scattered its ministers, and reared its institutions, in every portion of the land. Its darkest crimes are not those of the government, but of the people. Its most sanguinary scenes are those of revolutionary frenzy and popular tumult,—scenes in which the vilest of mankind seemed, like vultures,



to fatten upon the blood of all the wise and noble, the chivalrous, the patriotic, and the pious, among the sons and the daughters of France. Its most affecting and valuable lessons are its teachings of human wickedness, the admonitions it thunders out to demagogues and their deluded followers, to all the advocates of reckless liberty, who pander to the popular passion for power, and the warnings it has left, with which to chasten our hopes, and direct our exertions for the social and civil advancement of mankind.

Gibbon, with a power which has never been surpassed, of grouping together events the most heterogeneous and remote, opens to us the mighty fabric of Roman greatness, which, in its day overshadowed the world,—and over the vast tract which extends from the walls of China to the Atlantic, and from the forests of northern Europe to the deserts of Africa, he traces through the lapse of fourteen centuries, the long and slow decline of the imperial power, and leads us down the descending pathway of ancient civilization, till we seem to see the light of the world go out in utter darkness, and barbarism usurp the consecrated dwelling-places of literature, science and art. But the period, through which he conducts us, is one only of decline and decay, in which the gigantic and ill-proportioned frame-work of the Roman empire was falling to pieces by its own unwieldy weight, in which civilization was constantly yielding, and barbarism constantly extending its sway over the world,—a period illustrated by few lights of genius or learning,—by no great achievements of statesmanship or diplomacy, and by only here and there the brilliant display of splendid military talents.

Far different is the epoch embraced in the work before us. During the twenty-five years, which elapsed between the convocation of the States-General and the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, society was making its most rapid strides in all the interests of civilized life. Science was unlocking, with her best success, the mysterious stores of nature, and art, with her noblest inventions, was furnishing forth her treasures for the uses of man. The hereditary thrones of Europe were then occupied by some of the most gifted and illustrious of the royal races to whom they belong; and were supported, in some instances, at least, by an array of able and far-sighted ministers and statesmen, such as no other age, either of ancient or modern times, has ever produced. It is

during a period like this,—an inconsiderable fragment, indeed, when compared to the time comprised in “the Decline and Fall,”—that the historian conducts us through the annals of Europe. Its passions are roused to their wildest intensity, and lead to achievements which vie, alike in splendor and atrocity, with those of the age of Augustus or of Tiberius Cæsar,—its great nations are thrown together in the fiercest strife; and the tide of war rolls over its whole extent, penetrates to the deserts of Africa and Asia, and breaks even upon the transatlantic shores of America.

Such is the character of the subject, which Mr. Alison aims to develop in the work before us. It manifestly presents the most attractive field hitherto unoccupied by the labors of the historian, and commends itself to our deepest interest by its intimate connection with our own times. The events and the characters it presents are those whose monuments we still gaze upon, and whose influences we still feel.

The manner in which the work has been executed, so far as we have examined it, is, on the whole, worthy of the magnificence of the design. The author has evidently been exceedingly thorough in his investigations, and has gained for himself the reputation of being unusually accurate, both in the facts and in the views which he presents. The style, though too uniformly elegant and elevated, and failing often in precision, and sometimes even in purity and perspicuity of diction, yet possesses a fascinating eloquence, and presents a majestic flow of narration and argument, which, after all the drawbacks we have mentioned, and others which we might mention, confirm in our mind the views of the author; and hold us bound, as if by a spell, to his glowing pages. The work is singularly rich in pictures to the imagination,—next to fidelity of statement, the highest quality of historic narrative, drawn with a master's pencil and adorned with the choicest colorings of art. It is indeed a magnificent picture-gallery, in which are presented all the great scenes and illustrious characters that appeared in this fearful tragedy of the history of Europe, from the storming of the Bastile and the insurrection of the fauxbourgs of Paris, through all the changes of the republic and the empire, of domestic violence and of foreign war, to the snows of Russia, the flames of Moscow, and the hopeless exile of St. Helena.

As an annalist of military campaigns, and especially in his descriptions of battle-fields, and of the movements of armies, he is unusually graphic, bold and clear. To a minute knowledge of the tactics of war, as well as of the policy and plans of the continental cabinets, he has added the immense advantage derived from his own observation of the territories he describes,—having visited, in person, nearly every field and pass in Europe, which had been contested by hostile armies during the period comprised in his history. The roads and plains of France, the mountain-passes of the Alps, the winding flow of the Rhine and the Danube, and their numerous tributaries, the shores of the Baltic, and the forests of Austria and Hungary, the plains of Marengo and the heights of Austerlitz, are all delineated with the same minuteness and apparent accuracy as could be expected of the author, had he passed his days amidst the scenes he describes. The knowledge he has thus acquired, combined with his own clear perceptions, has endowed him with the power, possessed by few of our English annalists, of making intelligible to the common reader the outlines of those memorable spots, on which have so often been decided the fate of nations, and, in some instances, at least, the destiny of the civilized world.

With respect to the political philosophy involved in the mighty social movements he unfolds, Mr. Alison writes, in the spirit of an Englishman and a tory of the stanchest and most uncompromising character. He evidently has little sympathy with the so-called movement-party in political affairs, whether in Great Britain or in other countries; and cherishes a deep distrust, which he does not attempt to disguise, of all democratic institutions. He is too thoroughly penetrated with a sense of the selfishness and the all-controlling love of power, ever working in human nature, to allow himself to indulge any sanguine hope, that man, in his present condition, can succeed in the experiment of self-government. His sympathies on this point are, perhaps, too exclusively with the few, to harmonize with the prevailing spirit of American society. Yet, even supposing his doubts to be ill-founded, we can readily pardon the historian of Europe, at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, for being distrustful of free institutions, and even disgusted with the very name of popular liberty. For he has to record the defeats it brought upon itself by its own

wanton excesses and its shameless crimes,—to witness its overthrow and annihilation by the very men to whom its guardianship was entrusted; and to hear its sacred name sounded as the battle-cry of the mob, as they are rushing to deeds at which humanity shudders. He, who has traced the course of events like these, or has studied human nature as displayed amidst the atrocities of the French Revolution, may plead some justification for any expressions of distrust that may escape him, of the final success of the popular cause, or of the permanent practicability of any forms of free government. The experiment of popular liberty in France most signally failed. It was begun in blood and crime, and, after years of little else than blood and crime, it terminated amidst the wretchedness and degradation of the whole nation; and the people who had gloried in the revolution, and shouted the pæans of Reason and Liberty, threw themselves with one accord, into the arms of the sternest of military despotisms, glad thus to escape the deluge of pillage and ruin, that was rising over the land.

The history of the French Revolution does not present a picture of a nation honestly struggling for freedom, and at last defeated and overborne by the superior forces of despotism; but rather of a people impelled by a vengeful lust of power, and made frantic by its possession,—intoxicated and maddened by the first draught of liberty, and proving themselves as unfit to use it, as they had been guilty in acquiring it. For ourselves, we have no tears to shed over prostrate freedom of this sort. We have no sympathies to utter to a nation, wearing the chains which their own unparalleled crimes and atrocities have placed upon them. We have no helping hand to offer to humanity, struggling against the laws by which Deity has bound it,—fiercely demolishing institutions, on which religion has set its holiest impress, and uttering, in the face of Heaven, blasphemies hitherto unnamed in the records of human depravity. No, republicans as we are, we turn with disgust from liberty like this, and rejoice in the reflection, that, by the very principles of our social nature, its reign must always be short,—that it inevitably perishes of its own atrocities. “The reign of injustice,” says Mr. Alison, “is not eternal; no special interposition of Providence is required to arrest it; no avenging angel need descend, to terminate its wrathful course; it destroys itself by its own violence; the avenging angel is found in the human heart.”



Modern history has hitherto been, to a great extent, the work of writers, either entirely hostile, or utterly indifferent to the Christian religion. The great historian of the Decline and Fall wanted but the single quality of Christian piety, to place his name first on the list of the historians of either ancient or modern times. He was fully alive to all the surpassing splendors of his theme, save only those which gather around the character and the early triumphs of our holy religion. The magnificence of classic antiquity, the rise and majestic march of Mohammedan power, and the waning glories of the pagan mythology, all are described with the eloquence they are so well fitted to inspire. But the rise of the Christian faith, its proclamation of peace on earth and good-will to man, its early triumphs and its heavenly influences, woke no thrill of admiration, and touched no chord of piety in the bosom of the historian. The meek yet heroic virtues of Jesus of Nazareth, the philanthropy of apostles, and the sufferings of martyrs, are mentioned only with the disingenuous sneer of the cold-hearted skeptic; and through all his records of that long and dreary period, so filled with heavenly teachings, so marked by monuments of retributive justice, there is scarcely more allusion to a superintending Providence, than might be found in the annalists of heathen antiquity.

In the work of Mr. Alison, however, the Christian reader is pleased to discover a different spirit. History in his hands is not only the faithful record of the past, but the interpreter of its events, the reverend teacher of the sublime ethics of human affairs. Whether he is spreading before us the deeds of atrocity perpetrated by the Parisian mob, or the heroic loyalty of the simple and pious peasantry of La Vendée,—whether exposing the treachery of statesmen and the failure of diplomacy, or portraying the boundless ambition of Napoleon, and the triumphs and defeats of his hundred battle-fields, he does not fail to impress the great lessons they teach, to refer them to the unchanging principles of right, and thus

“Assert eternal Providence,  
And justify the ways of God to men.”

The author, at the commencement of his work, divides the period of which it treats into four distinct portions, of which the first two only are scarcely completed in the numbers

which have thus far been published in this country. We extract from the preface the outline which he gives of these several periods.

"The first, commencing with the Convocation of the States-General in 1789, terminates with the execution of Louis, and the establishment of a republic in France in 1793. This period embraces the history and vast changes of the Constituent Assembly; the revolt and overthrow of the throne on the 10th of August; the trial and death of the king. It traces the changes of public opinion, and the fervor of innovation, from their joyous commencement, to that bloody catastrophe, and the successive steps by which the nation was led from the transports of general philanthropy, to the sombre ascendant of sanguinary ambition.

"The second opens with the strife of the Girondists and the Jacobins; and, after recounting the fall of the latter body, enters upon the dreadful era of the Reign of Terror, and follows out the subsequent struggles of the now exhausted factions, till the establishment of a regular military government, by the suppression of the revolt of the National Guard of Paris, in October, 1795. This period embraces the commencement of the war; the immense exertions of France during the campaign in 1793; the heroic contests in La Vendée; the last efforts of Polish independence under Kosciusko; the conquest of Flanders and Holland; and the scientific manœuvres of the campaign of 1795. But its most interesting part is the internal history of the Revolution; the heart-rending sufferings of persecuted virtue; and the means by which Providence caused the guilt of the revolutionists to work out their own deserved and memorable punishment.

"The third, commencing with the rise of Napoleon, terminates with the seizure of the reins of power by that extraordinary man, and the first pause in the general strife, by the peace of Amiens. It is singularly rich in splendid achievements, embracing the Italian campaigns of the French hero, and the German ones of the archduke Charles; the battles of St. Vincent, Camperdown, and the Nile; the expedition to Egypt; the wars of Suwarrow in Italy, and Massena on the Alps; the campaigns of Marengo and Hohenlinden; the Northern Coalition, with its dissolution by the victory of Copenhagen; the conquests of the English in India, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt. During this period, the democratic passions of France had exhausted themselves, and the nation groaned under a weak, but relentless military despotism, whose external disasters and internal severities prepared all classes to range themselves round the banners of a victorious chieftain.

"The fourth opens with brighter auspices to France, under the firm and able government of Napoleon, and terminates with his fall in 1815. Less illustrated than the former period by his military genius, it was rendered still more memorable by his resistless power and mighty achievements. It embraces the campaigns of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland; the destruction of the French navy at Trafalgar; the rise of the desperate struggle in Spain; and the gallant, though abortive efforts of Austria in 1809; the degradation and extinction of the papal authority; the slow, but steady growth of the English military power in the peninsula, and the splendid career of Wellington; the general suffering, under the despotism of France; the memorable invasion of Russia; the convulsive efforts of Germany in 1813; the last campaign of Napoleon, the capture of Paris, and his final overthrow at Waterloo.

"The first two periods illustrate the consequences of democratic ascendancy upon the civil condition; the last two, their effect upon the military struggles and external relations of nations. In both, the operation of the same law of nature may be discerned, for the expulsion of a destructive passion from the frame of society, by the efforts which it makes for its own gratification; in both, the principal actors were overruled by an unseen power, which rendered their vices and ambition the means of ultimately effecting the deliverance of mankind. Generations perished during the vast transition, but the law of nature was unceasing in its operation; and the same principle which drove the government of Robespierre through the Reign of Terror to the 9th of Thermidor, impelled Napoleon to the snows of Russia and the rout of Waterloo. 'Les hommes agitent,' says Bossuet, 'mais Dieu les mène.' The illustrations of this moral law compose the great lesson to be learned from the eventful scenes of this mighty drama."

All social revolutions Mr. Alison divides into two great classes,—those which aim at the redress of real grievances, and those which, either with or without grievances to complain of, are prompted by a passion for political power. These are widely different, in their character and spirit; and for the preservation of society, require to be treated in opposite manners. The former are to be met by kindness and conciliation, and a removal of the evils complained of. The latter are to be resisted with steadiness and firmness; and, if necessary for their effectual suppression, by such an array of physical and moral force, as will clearly show the results to which they must inevitably lead. The former have their origin in a love of personal freedom, and a hatred of wrong and oppression, worthy to be fostered and cultivated in the bosom of a people, by the efforts of an enlightened statesman. The latter spring from an unhallowed lust of power, from a fondness for change, from an irreverent and irreligious impatience of all restraint, which, if cherished and allowed to work out its tendencies, must inevitably overthrow all existing institutions, consume the very heart of society, and hasten backward the civilization of a people. In elucidating a distinction, at the same time so just and so important to be observed, in the right regulation of civil liberty, we quote the language of Mr. Alison.

"The talent of using political power so as not to abuse it, is one of the last acquisitions of mankind, and can be gained only by many ages of protected industry and experienced freedom. It can never, with safety, be extended to the great body of the people, and least of all, to a nation just emerging from the fetters of servitude: unless the growth of political influence in the lower orders has been as gradual as the changes of time, or the insensible extension of day in spring, it will

infallibly destroy the personal freedom which constitutes its principal object. A certain intermixture of the democratic spirit is often indispensable to the extrication of individual liberty, just as a certain degree of warmth is requisite to vivify and cherish animal life; but, unless the fire is restrained within narrow limits, it will consume those who are exposed to its fierceness, not less in political than private life.

"The love of real freedom may always be distinguished from the passion for popular power. The one is directed to objects of practical importance, and the redress of experienced wrongs; the other aims at visionary improvement, and the increase of democratic influence. The one complains of what has been felt, the other anticipates what may be gained; disturbances arising from the first subside, when the evils from which they spring are removed; troubles originating in the second magnify with every victory that is achieved. The experience of evil is the cause of agitation from the first; the love of power, the source of convulsions from the last. Reform and concessions are the remedies appropriate to the former; steadiness and resistance, the means of extinguishing the flame arising from the latter. The passion of love is not more dependent on the smiles of beauty, than the passion of democracy, on the hope of successive augmentations of power.

"It is the intention of nature that the power of the people should increase as society advances; but it is not her intention that this increase should take place in such a way as to convulse the state, and ultimately extinguish their own freedom. All improvements that are really beneficial, all changes which are destined to be lasting, are gradual in their progress. It is by suddenly increasing the power of the lower orders, that the frame of society is endangered, because the immediate effect of such a change is to unsettle men's minds, and bring into full play the most visionary and extravagant ideas of the most desperate and ambitious men. Such an effect was produced in France by the duplication of the *Tiers Etat* in 1788; and similar consequences will, in all ages, be found to attend the concession of great political powers at a period of more than ordinary political excitation."

To the latter of these two classes do nearly all the revolutions of modern history belong. Men have not yet often attained to that purity of virtue, which may enable them to separate, in their minds or their aims, the love of freedom from the love of power. Our own revolution, in most of its features at least, certainly deserves to be ranked with the former class; and the manner in which it was conducted, and the success with which it was crowned, demonstrate most clearly, that its origin and aim were not in opposition to the interests of mankind; and that the sanguinary thirst for power was not the spirit which then ruled the American people. The opposite of this, however, was the spirit which pervaded the revolution in France. The two are as wide asunder as were the principles of the Puritans of New England and those of the atheist philosophers of Paris; as were the character of Washington and the character of



Napoleon. The people of France sought to accomplish in a day what was, in reality, the work of centuries,—to attain by a single exertion, privileges and forms which the improvements of many generations alone could teach them to use aright, or could fit them to enjoy. This is abundantly shown by the events which marked its commencement. The first taste, nay even the distant scent of power intoxicated them; and they did not wake from the fierce delirium into which they were plunged, till France had been desolated by war; her beautiful capital, stripped of the ornaments of ages; her sunny fields, drenched in blood; her noble rivers, choked with the bodies of her slain children; and a whole generation of her sons had fallen on the battle-fields of Europe, to which the madness of popular ambition had sent them. Had this revolution been met, with a wisdom equal to the crisis, by firm and prompt resistance, instead of timid and untimely concession,—had the 70,000 gentlemen and nobles, who fled from their country at the first growlings of the tempest, but rallied round their sovereign, in the spirit of the ancient chivalry of France; and had Louis, thus surrounded by the constitutional supporters of his throne, but ordered a charge of his guard upon the mobs of Paris, in any one of their earlier risings,—the revolution might have been crushed in its infancy,—Europe might have been saved from twenty years of incessant war, and the eyes of the world had been spared the spectacle, whose record constitutes “the bloodiest picture in the book of time.”

One of the most thrilling chapters in the portion of Mr. Alison's work, which is now before us, is that which records the heroic struggle of the peasants of La Vendée against the authority of the national convention. The war, in this loyal province, presents, on the part of its simple-hearted inhabitants, a scene of patriotic self-devotion, and of pious enthusiasm, which for awhile serves to relieve the guilty horrors of the revolution, and to send a glance of humanity over a period dark with the most fiendish crimes. The people of this rural district, accustomed only to the quiet of agricultural life, and the peaceful worship of their religion, rallied in the cause of royalty with an enthusiasm and perseverance which, if it had been led by experienced generalship or supported by disciplined forces, might have given a different issue to the progress of the revolution. At first, they had submitted to

the decrees of the Convention; but when they saw the religion of their fathers annihilated, their venerated pastors displaced by strangers, and all the most honored citizens of their province in prison or in exile, they flew to arms with an energy which patriotic and religious enthusiasm alone could inspire. It was against the cruelties and the atheism of the revolution, that the Vendéans engaged in revolt; and in defence of their homes, their churches and their teachers of religion, that they rushed to arms. Away from the vices of the capital, the excitements of the large cities, they had not caught the jealousy of superior rank, and the burning lust of power, which were raging in other portions of France. They still revered and honored the proprietors of their estates, who had been their friends and protectors from feudal times; and they refused to strip them of their privileges and powers, according to the wishes of the revolutionary government. And when the armies of the state were sent against them, they would muster at the village-churches, at the summons of the bell; and, after engaging in worship and receiving the benedictions of their pastors, they would rush, in irregular masses, to the places of rendezvous appointed by their chiefs. They needed only discipline to enable them to march to Paris, and perhaps even to re-establish the throne of the Bourbons.

“But their greatest success was always paralyzed by the impossibility of retaining the soldiers at their colors for any considerable length of time. The bulk of the forces were never assembled for more than three or four days together. No sooner was the battle lost or won, the expedition successful or defeated, than the peasants returned to their homes. The chiefs were left alone with a few hundred deserters or strangers who had no family to return to, and all the advantages of former success were lost, for want of the means of following them up. The army, however, was as easily re-formed as it was dissolved; messengers were despatched to all the parishes; the tocsin sounded, the peasants assembled at their parish-churches, when the requisition was read, which was generally in the following terms:—‘In the holy name of God! and by the command of the king; this parish is invited to send as many men as possible, to such a place, at such an hour, with provisions for so many days.’ The order was obeyed with alacrity; the only emulation among the peasants was, who should attend the expedition. The villages vied with each other for the privilege of sending carts for the service of the army; and the peasant girls flocked to the chapels on the road-side, to furnish provisions to the soldiers, or offer up prayers for their success.”

Such was the spirit of the brave and enthusiastic royalists of La Vendée. Their patriotic revolt was not suppressed, till

it had cost France the blood of 900,000 of her sons, slain on both sides of the desperate contest. Nothing, in all the blood-stained annals of the Revolution, can exceed the unrelenting cruelty with which the surviving inhabitants of this devoted district were hunted down by their conquerors. All the engines of torture and of death which the despotisms of other ages had bequeathed, and all the resources of the fiendish invention of those guilty days, seemed to be put in requisition for punishing this innocent and generous people, and exterminating every remnant of loyalty and piety from the land. With those who have ever read this portion of the history of the French revolution, the very mention of the *Infernal Columns*, of the murders of Nantes,—in which city alone more than 15,000 perished in a single month, under the hands of the executioner,—of the *Noyades of the Loire*, of the *Republican Baptisms*, and the *Republican Marriages*,—is sufficient to send a chill of horror to the heart. “Such was the quantity of corpses accumulated in the Loire, by these inhuman punishments, that the water of that river was infected so as to render a public ordinance necessary, forbidding the use of it to the inhabitants; and the mariners, when they heaved their anchors, frequently brought up boats charged with corpses. Birds of prey flocked to the shores and fed on human flesh; while the fish became so poisonous as to induce an order of the municipality of Nantes, prohibiting them to be taken by the fishermen.”

“But though La Vendée fell, her blood was not shed in vain. The sword of the conqueror subdues the bodies, but it is often the heroism of the vanquished which subjugates the minds of men, and achieves conquests of eternal duration. The throne of Cæsar has passed away, but the blood of the Christian martyrs cemented a fabric of eternal duration; the tyranny of Mary for a time crushed the religious freedom of England, but Latimer and Ridley lighted a fire which will never be extinguished. From the ashes of La Vendée has sprung the spirit which hurled Napoleon from his throne, and is destined to change the face of the moral world. It first put the cause of revolution openly and irrevocably at war with that of religion; the friends of real freedom may thank it for permanently enlisting on their side a power which will never be subdued. From the atrocious severities of the republican sway in this devoted province, has arisen the profound hatred of all the believers in the Christian faith, at their rule, and the stubborn spirit which was every where roused to resist it; the desolation of the Bocage was avenged by the charnel house of Spain; the horrors of the Loire have been forgotten in the passage of the Berezina. Periods of suffering are, in the end, seldom lost, either to the cause of truth, or the moral discipline of nations; it is the sunshine of prosperity which spreads the



fatal corruption. Christianity withered under the titled hierarchy, but she shone forth in spotless purity from the revolutionary agonies of France; and that celestial origin, which was obscured by the splendor of a prosperous, has been revealed in the virtues of a suffering, age."

The "Reign of Terror" continued scarcely more than a year, from the fall of the Girondists to the death of Robespierre. During that gloomy night of suffering and crime, the number of persons who perished by the decree of the revolutionary tribunals that raised their terrific heads in all parts of France, was not less than 1,022,251. Yet, immense as was this number of unresisted murders, the persons actually engaged in their execution seem never to have been numerous. One can hardly be persuaded, but a single concentrated and well-directed effort of the friends of order, might, at any time, have shaken from their necks the odious tyranny of the Jacobins. It was by intimidation and threats on the part of the revolutionists, and by inactivity and indifference among the friends of real freedom, that the terrible ascendancy of that murderous faction was at first acquired, and for so long a time maintained, even amidst the unmingled detestation and abhorrence of the whole people of France. The fact, that a small body of reckless and blood-thirsty villains were thus able to seize the reins of whatever government then existed, and rule with an iron sway a whole nation, is not the least astonishing of the wild marvels of those revolutionary times. It reminds us of the perils with which society is ever environed,—of the horrors into which it may at any time be plunged, by the exertions of a reckless faction, seeking to unchain the furious passions of the populace. It teaches us to watch, with sleepless vigilance, against even the slightest departure from the established forms of law, and to cling with still firmer tenacity, to those principles of social order and of regulated liberty, without which, the name of free institutions is an unmeaning sound.

"The active part of the bloody faction at Paris," says our author, "never exceeded a few hundred men; their talents were by no means of the highest order, nor their weight in society considerable; yet they trampled under foot all the influential classes, ruled mighty armies with absolute sway, kept 200,000 of their fellow-citizens in captivity, and daily led out several hundred persons, of the best blood in France, to execution. Such is the effect of the unity of action which atrocious wickedness produces; such the consequence of rousing the cupidity of



the lower orders; such the ascendancy, which, in periods of anarchy, is acquired by the most savage and lawless of the people. The peaceable and inoffensive citizens lived and wept in silence; terror crushed every attempt at combination; the extremity of grief subdued even the firmest hearts. In despair at effecting any change in the general sufferings, apathy universally prevailed; the people sought to bury their sorrows in the delirium of present enjoyments, and the theatres were never fuller than during the whole Reign of Terror. Ignorance of human nature can alone lead us to ascribe this to any peculiarity in the French character; the same effects have been observed in all parts and ages of the world, as invariably attending a state of extreme and long-continued distress.

“How, then, did a faction, whose leaders were so extremely contemptible in point of numbers, obtain the power to rule France with such absolute sway? The answer is simple. It was by an expedient of the plainest kind, and by steadily following out one principle, so obvious, that few have sought for the cause of such terrible phenomena in its application. This was by promoting, and, to a great extent, actually giving to the working classes the influence and the possessions of all the other orders in the state. *Egestas cupida novarum rerum*, was the maxim on which they acted; it was to this point, the cupidity and ambition of those to whom fortune had proved adverse, that all their measures were directed. Their principle was to keep the revolutionary passions of the people constantly awake, by the display of fresh objects of desire; to represent all the present misery which the system of innovation had occasioned, as the consequence of the resistance which the holders of property had opposed to its progress; and to dazzle the populace by the prospect of boundless felicity, when the revolutionary equality and spoliation for which they contended, was fully established. By this means they effectually secured, over the greater part of France, the co-operation of the multitude; and it was by their physical strength, guided and called forth by the revolutionary clubs and committees universally established, and every where composed of the most ardent of the Jacobin faction, that their extraordinary power was supported. This system succeeded perfectly as long as the victims of spoliation were the higher orders, and considerable holders of property: it was when they were exhausted, and the edge of the guillotine began to descend upon the shopkeepers, and the more opulent of the laboring classes, that the *general* reaction took place, which overturned the Reign of Terror. When society is in so corrupt and profligate a form, that a faction, qualified by their talents and energy to take the lead in public affairs, can be found, who will carry on the government on their principles, and they are not crushed in the outset by a united effort of all the holders of property, it can hardly fail of obtaining temporary success. It is well that the friends of order, of every political persuasion,—and they are to be found as much among the supporters of rational freedom, as the advocates of monarchical power,—should be aware of the deadly weapon which is in the possession of their adversaries, and the necessity of uniting to wrest it from their hands the moment that it is unsheathed; and it would be fortunate if the agents of revolution would contemplate, in the Reign of Terror, and the fate of Robespierre, the necessary effects of using it to their country and themselves.”

Among the attractions with which Mr. Alison has invested his work, not the least imposing are to be found in his magnificent personal sketches of most of the illustrious men of all lands, who flourished during the period he describes. These are sometimes wrought into the body of the history; and, at others, form the subjects of brilliant episodes,—in which he pauses, as it were, in the progress of the drama, to raise monuments to the illustrious characters who have fallen amidst its mighty scenes. It is in such passages as these, that his rich declamation and elaborate eloquence appear to their best advantage. In the ordinary course of the narrative, these qualities are sometimes unfavorable to the clear and precise representation of the facts, and serve to dazzle the mind of the reader, without furnishing him with distinct ideas. But the gifts of the imagination are devoted to their legitimate uses, when they are brought to celebrate the achievements, and blazon the memory, of superior statesmanship and patriotic heroism; or are employed to heighten the colorings in which prostituted talents and selfish ambition are pictured forth to the indignation and hatred of mankind. Thus to discriminate, among the great names of history, between the high-souled and the base,—the sons of immortal fame and the heirs of infamy and disgrace,—is one of the high offices of the historian. It is one, too, which the very nature of his work lends him important aid in performing. Great talents and superior virtues no where appear so glorious as among the generous deeds they have wrought, and the monuments of beneficence they have left in the history of their age. And, on the contrary, we never feel a deeper abhorrence of the treacherous statesman, the guilty warrior, or the reckless revolutionist, than when we turn to gaze upon them from the pages of the historian, who recounts to us their deeds of blood, and pictures before us the wretchedness and desolation they occasioned. As a specimen of our author's manner in these historical portraitures, we take pleasure in transferring to our pages, the following sketch of the character of Washington, from the close of the twenty-first chapter, in which are recorded the events of the year 1796.

“The end of the same year witnessed the resignation of the presidency of the United States of America, by General Washington, and his voluntary retirement into private life. Modern history has not so

spotless a character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic, the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances, rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies, rather by the wisdom of his designs and the perseverance of his character, than any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism, rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific councils when the independence of his country was secured, and bequeathed to his countrymen an address, on leaving their government, to which there is no composition, of uninspired wisdom, which can bear a comparison. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame, without vanity; independent and dignified, without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not licentiousness; not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her English descent, and which were opposed to nothing so much as the extravagant love of power in the French democracy. Accordingly, after having signalized his life by successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain; and, by his casting vote, shortly before his resignation, ratified a treaty of friendly and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emancipated offspring. He was a Cromwell, without his ambition; a Sylla, without his crimes: and, after having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent state, closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed. It is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amid transatlantic wilds, to such a man; and if she cannot number him among those who have extended her provinces, or augmented her dominions, she may at least feel a legitimate pride in the victories which he achieved, and the great qualities which he exhibited, in the contest with herself; and indulge, with satisfaction, in the reflection, that that vast empire, which neither the ambition of Louis XIV, nor the power of Napoleon could dismember, received its first rude shock from the courage which she had communicated to her own offspring; and that, amid the convulsions and revolutions of other states, real liberty has arisen in that country alone, which inherited in its veins the genuine principles of British freedom."

In the passages we have quoted, the reader has not failed to perceive the strong preference which Mr. Alison entertains for aristocratic institutions. The extent to which this preference may tend to unfit him for the office of the historian of the revolutionary periods of modern Europe hardly belongs to these notices of the early portions of his work. In one point, however, its prejudicial effects begin already to manifest themselves. We refer to his judgments and his facts concerning the United States. Some of his allusions to this country contain blunders, hardly excusable in any Englishman, even though he do not aspire to be a writer of history. Others indicate an entire misconception, and an



underrating of the astonishing developments of all the energies of civilization, and of the social progress, which the last half century has witnessed in these "transatlantic wilds." For ourselves, we have no special solicitude for the national reputation, and can endure, with entire equanimity, that the Basil Halls and Harriet Martineaus,—who, we presume, are Mr. Alison's chief authorities pertaining to our affairs,—and the whole succession of English travellers, down to the good-natured, though still querulous Charles Dickens, should write about us, and laugh at us to their heart's content. We are willing, too, to take home some of the lectures which these amiable people have chosen to read to us; and, in matters of rapid eating, tobacco-chewing, asking questions, money-making, and the like, to admit that we are less civilized than our Saxon brethren across the sea. Of any, or of all of these, we should not take pains to record a single word of complaint.

But when we open the volumes of the accomplished historian, who has written for future generations as well as his own, we look for the fruits of patient inquiry, for unbiased judgments, for sacred fidelity to truth, such as are never to be sought in the flippant tourists who hurry over our railroads, lounge a few days at some of our great hotels, visit a few of our public works, and then go home to amuse their self-complacent countrymen, with their impressions of our institutions, and their wretched caricatures of our society. The occasions, which the history of modern Europe furnishes to Mr. Alison to allude to American affairs, are comparatively few; but, in these few, we regret to say, he is plainly biased by his aristocratic leanings; and, in some of them, misled by the authorities on which, with too much confidence, he relies. He has been at too little pains to understand the structure of our society,—a matter, indeed, in which Englishmen seem universally to fail,—and we fear, has been somewhat too ready to reason from the mad, atheistical career of republican France to the progress of our own country. But, in addition to the general tone of disparagement in which our institutions are spoken of, the American reader is not a little surprised to find, in a work of sober history, that "the English church is the prevailing religion of the land," and that New-England is now one of the States of the Union, or that it was ever one of the colonies of Great Britain. Occasional errors like these disfigure the pages of our author;



and, notwithstanding his high reputation for accuracy in matters of fact, and his acknowledged ability and eloquence, they tend inevitably to diminish our general confidence in his statements.

The numbers of the American reprint which we have placed at the head of this article, conduct the reader through the fall of the monarchy and the execution of Louis,—the government of the national assembly and the reign of terror, and far into the guilty career of the French republic. Wave upon wave of revolutionary frenzy have rolled over France, until most of the memorials of former ages, and all the institutions of Christianity are annihilated, and a generation is rising to manhood to whom social order and tranquillity are unknown; and who have been bred in utter ignorance of the religion of their ancestors. Faction after faction, each springing from still lower dregs of the populace than its predecessor, has risen to the summit of power, and been, in its turn, hurled headlong to the dust. Every stratum of the social system has been in succession, displaced by upheavings from beneath, until the bonds of justice and of right, and even the ties of consanguinity, are reft asunder, and all orders and conditions of men are crouching beneath the sway of the fiercest and most savage passions of human nature. Yet, even in the midst of this ruin of society, all France resounds with the praises of liberty. Its ensigns and emblems fill the land; while the people are unconsciously wearing upon their necks the yoke of the vilest of despotisms,—the despotism of the Parisian mob, sterner and more cruel than the Bourbons, even in their worst days, had ever imposed. Such was the delicious dream of liberty which dazzled the minds and corrupted the hearts of the French nation. The fascinations which it once possessed, and the partizan passions to which it once gave rise in this country, have long since gone to oblivion, we trust never to be revived. As an event in the world's history, it may now be studied and calmly contemplated; and lessons may be deduced from it, of immeasurable importance to all nations, but especially to such as have ventured upon the perilous experiment of unlimited popular freedom. If it be possible for one generation to learn wisdom from the errors and crimes of their predecessors, it would seem that a single record like that of the French revolution were enough for the warning and guidance of all future times.

But we must bring to a close these hasty and imperfect notices of a work to which we are indebted for many hours of most valuable and interesting reading; and of which, as a whole, in common, we believe, with all who have dwelt upon its glowing pages, we have conceived no ordinary admiration. We may, in a future number, recur to this work; and from its subsequent chapters sketch some scenes in the astonishing career of the Conqueror of Europe,—whose singular fortunes had their origin amidst the tumults and crimes of the revolution in France.

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ARTICLE VI.

ANGLO-SAXON HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

1. *The History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the earliest period to the Norman Conquest.* By SHARON TURNER. 2 vols. Philadelphia. Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. 560, 619. 1841.
2. *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, containing the Accentuation, the Grammatical Inflections, the Irregular Words referred to their themes, the parallel terms from the other Gothic Languages, the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon in English and Latin, and copious English and Latin Indexes, serving as a Dictionary of English and Anglo-Saxon, as well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon. With a Preface, on the origin and connection of the Germanic Tongues, a map of Languages, and the essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar.* By Rev. J. BOSWORTH, LL.D., British Chaplain at Rotterdam. London. 1838. pp. 929. 8vo.
3. *Quatuor D. N. Jesu Christi Euangeliorum Versiones Perantiquæ duæ, Gothica, scil. et Anglo-Saxonica, etc.* Dordrecht. 1665. 4to.

WE have trodden, with unfeigned pleasure, among these monuments of the history of our fathers. We love to trace back our relationship to the past. It is pleasant to linger in

the society of these men of early times ; to observe in them the gradual development of mind, the influence of religious truth, the dawn of science and the arts, the power and success of self-culture, the progress of national elevation, the elements of our own character and history. If they were once rude barbarians, we cannot despise them. We have too close an affinity with them. The Anglo-Saxons were the parent-stock, and we acknowledge them as our fathers. They are neither strangers nor enemies, but they belong to ourselves. Moreover, as the connecting link between barbarism and the highest civilization, it is impossible not to contemplate them with interest. We have in them a remarkable specimen of civilization springing up, within a short period of time, out of the bosom of barbarism ; of a literature, few though its remains may be, and tinged deeply with the marks of the source whence it emanated, coming from an almost self-moved effort of the human mind. In their tongue, we can trace the progress of the formation of a language, mainly free from classical influence, and with very few admixtures of terms, except from the dialects of neighboring and equally uncultivated tribes. We see what Christianity and a love of learning can do, in men who, but now, had neither learning nor Christianity. We see the influence of one man in making a people.

It is a true feast, to find such facilities for the study of a topic of so deep interest. The history of the Anglo-Saxons is a part of the history of England. As the Anglo-Saxon dialect is the incipient English tongue, so Anglo-Saxon chronicles are incipient British history. With the aid of Turner's History, and Bosworth's Dictionary, quoted at the head of this article, the Grammar of Rask or Grimm, the former translated by Thorpe, and published in Copenhagen, in 1830, Thorpe's *Analectica Anglo-Saxonica* (London, 1834), and one or two other works, not difficult to be obtained, such as Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), and Alfred's *Boethius*, with an English translation and notes (London, 1835), the lover of this sort of lore may easily become familiar with the people and their language, and enter upon an acquaintance with their primitive literature. There are several remnants of this ancient tongue, besides helps to the study of it. Bosworth gives a catalogue of more than thirty works in Anglo-Saxon, or bearing

very nearly upon the study of it, among which are no less than thirteen grammars, and three large dictionaries besides his own. This subject is beginning to attract the attention of scholars in a measure proportioned to its interest. The Ælfric Society, recently formed in London, has for its object, to encourage investigations in the northern languages and literature. We are informed, that a firm in Boston has imported fifty copies of Bosworth's dictionary, which have all been sold. The articles on this topic, published in the *North American Review*, and elsewhere, also indicate, that there are students of Anglo-Saxon among us, who not only cherish the right spirit, but are inclined to diffuse that spirit among others.

The American publishers of Turner's history have done an invaluable service to the literary world by their edition of that work. We are aware, that their remuneration must be slow ; but we hope it will be sure. A finer donation could not be made to the cause of learning, to British history, and to the English language. The exterior beauty of the volumes tempts one to look into them. The table of contents produces a conviction of their intrinsic and lasting worth. We are often deceived by a title-page. The anticipations which we form are not fulfilled. But in this work, our anticipations are more than fulfilled. A vast amount of interesting and profitable matter, the fruit of laborious investigation, on every possible topic involved in the general theme, is spread before us ; so that we scarcely can ask a question, which comes within the limits of our author's promise, that is not satisfactorily answered. The fact, that the work has maintained its rank in our circle of literature from the beginning of the present century, and that successive editions have been demanded up to the present time, bears honorable testimony to its excellence. It stands by itself among our historical documents. The information it contains could not be gathered from any other source, and it will always be a theme of interest, as long as a Briton or a descendant of Britons remains upon earth ; as long as the English tongue is spoken or written, or a monument of its literature is preserved.

The title of Dr. Bosworth's dictionary is no more than a fair representation of the book. The very long preface, of one hundred and seventy-seven pages, presents a minute view of all the cognate languages ; and is worthy of the attention of every student of English literature, whether he



contemplates proceeding to the Anglo-Saxon or not. The Grammar, including the extracts from Professors Rask and Grimm, does not cover more than eighteen pages. We could wish it were somewhat more complete; but, as a student who undertakes to pursue the study of Anglo-Saxon in good earnest will purchase some more extended manual, perhaps a work, so perfect, ought not, in this respect, to be deemed chargeable with any defect. It will, probably, take rank as the standard Lexicon of the language; for it exhibits a degree of minute and careful investigation, setting it above all the transient works of our period. While many of the latter resemble, more than any thing else, the prophet's gourd, "which came up in a night and perished in a night," this is fitted to be an enduring monument. It contains the results of more than seven years' of literary labor, even more wearing to the body, than improving to the mind.

When we undertake to institute inquiries concerning the relics of any dead language, several questions are likely to arise. Has it a critical value, on account of its affinity to our own, or for any other reason? Does it embalm truths which could not otherwise be possessed? Does it illustrate the history of nations, or the progress of the human mind? Does it throw light upon forms of speech, or upon philosophy? Has it a literature, and does it open avenues to new fields, into which it may profit the scholar to penetrate? Such queries indicate the reasons why the dead languages have an imperishable interest, and deserve the attention of living men of every age. Have they any response in reference to the language and literature of the Anglo-Saxons?

We answer, they have. And this point, without by any means exhausting the subject, we shall endeavor to show.

The people of Great Britain, our own ancestors, whose language and customs are also our own, dwell on the soil where the Anglo-Saxons preceded them. After the flood, the sons of Japheth multiplied in the region of the Caspian Sea, and around mount Caucasus. From their gradual increase began those emigrations by which the whole of Europe has been peopled. The first great wave of population, crossing the Cimmerian Bosphorus, between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, was the Celts.\* This must have

\* The Gaelic language, a dialect of the Celtic, it is said, bears traces of its oriental origin. It differs in its structure from the Greek and Latin. By means of affixes and prefixes, in the inflections of nouns and verbs, it is assimilated with

occurred very early. For Britain was inhabited, of course by Celts, who had passed over the straits of Dover, as early as B. C. 1200. This people were the first source of the population of Europe. In early times, we find traces of them in Italy, Spain, and the centre of the continent. They were gradually driven westward by the second wave of population coming from the east, about B. C. 680, consisting of the Gothic or Teutonic tribes; or becoming amalgamated with them, they lost their distinctive character and language. The third great wave of population, consisting of the Slavonic tribes, urged the first still farther west, and drove the second into the central portion of the European continent. This is the present order of the population of that quarter of the globe. The Celtic remnant is in Wales and in some places among the highlands of Scotland. The Teutonic nations are in the middle; and the Slavonic or Sarmatian, the latest emigrants, still occupy the eastern side.

The Anglo-Saxons belong to this second wave. From the opposite side of the German Ocean, the Saxons, in their piratical excursions, first crossed into England and subdued the Britons, who either retired to the western side of the island, or became amalgamated with their conquerors. The Angles, residing in Sleswick, in the south of Denmark, having observed the success and prosperity of the Saxons, also crossed into Britain, in such numbers that their original residence was at length entirely deserted. They were called Anglo-Saxons, from their connection with the Saxon confederacy. Their speech was a mixture of the dialects of the

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the Hebrew. It is still used in the Scotch Highlands. If Noah, the father of Japheth, spoke in a Hebrew dialect, as doubtless he did, the fact just stated concerning the Gaelic language, confirms the received theory of successive waves of population covering Europe. From the remoteness and comparative isolation of the most western portion of the Celts, we see why they should have retained marks of their original tongue, while those who mingled, of necessity, with the Teutonic tribes, lost them.

As the Celtic tribes brought with them into Europe oriental inflections, the Teutonic tribes transplanted words, which have remained to this day, a component part of the language. The portions who emigrated from Caucasus to the east, also carried with them the words of their mother tongue. We should expect, therefore, a resemblance, to some extent, between the eastern and western languages. Hence, the term, Indo-Germanic languages, and the comparison between German and Sanscrit. In confirmation of the same, we find the following sentence in the "Journal of a Residence in Persia among the Nestorians," by Rev. J. Perkins. Pref. p. 6.

"The American or Englishman meets, in the Persian language, so many familiar acquaintances, that he can hardly avoid dwelling upon its resemblance to his own, a prototype of which it so clearly is,—or more immediately of the German: and he is little less delighted with the similarity of their construction, than the coincidence of common words."

Jutes, Angles and Saxons. The Anglo-Saxon dynasty continued in England about six hundred years. The Saxon power ceased when William, the Conqueror, ascended the throne. The language, having rejected or changed many of its inflections, continued to be spoken by the oldest inhabitants till about A. D. 1258. What was written after this had so great a resemblance to our present language, that it may evidently be called English.

Mr. Turner gives a full account of the manners and customs of the Anglo-Saxons, their government, their laws, their language, their literature and science, and their religion. "When they first landed, they were bands of fierce, ignorant, idolatrous, superstitious pirates, enthusiastically courageous, but habitually cruel." They had long, flowing hair, divided from the crown to the forehead, and descending in ringlets upon the shoulders, blue eyes, whiskers, and long beards; except that the latter appendage was forbidden to the clergy. They wore leather shoes, and, Mr. Turner supposes, no stockings. We think, however, his view on this point erroneous. He infers it from the fact, that St. Cuthbert "often kept his shoes on his feet for several months together, frequently from Easter to Easter, without taking them off." But Mr. T. himself affirms, that this saint was very inattentive to his bodily appearance; and that the men frequently appear, with their legs "covered half way up with a kind of bandage, wound round, or else with a tight stocking, reaching above the knee." St. Cuthbert's apparent destitution might, also, have been a salutary penance, self-inflicted, for the good of his soul. Their carpenters were not exact and perfect joiners; but, as an offset, they had curtains, and other expensive silk hangings for the walls. The crevices in king Alfred's house admitted currents of air to such a degree, that there came to be great irregularity in the burning of the candles, by which he marked the progress of the hours; and it was the effort to correct this irregularity which gave birth to the invention of lanterns. There was a degree of luxury about their houses. They had ornamented coverings for their benches. Ingulf mentions two *pedalia* or footstools with lions interwoven, and two smaller ones sprinkled with flowers. Two tables are spoken of, made of silver and gold. Æthwold is said to have made a silver table worth three hundred pounds. They commonly drank out of vessels of wood or buffalo horns;



but they also displayed much luxury in their drinking-vessels, which were often of silver or gold, expensively wrought. They gave fanciful and expressive names to their children, like the American Indians; perhaps, manifesting herein another trace of their oriental origin.\* Thus they had Æthelwulf, the noble wolf; Æaldwulf, the old wolf; Æthelheard, the noble protector; Sigered, victorious counsel; Hundberht, the illustrious hound; Æthelred, noble in counsel; Dunstan, the mountain stone; Ælfheag, tall as an elf; and many others. "The female sex were much more highly valued, and more respectfully treated by the barbarous Gothic nations, than by the more polished nations of the east. Among the Anglo-Saxons, they occupied the same important and independent rank in society which they now enjoy." Slavery was very common, but it was not, in general, severe. Large gifts were often made to the slaves by their masters. They were suffered to purchase their freedom at a very low rate; and manumission was both easy and common. The diffusion of Christianity contributed also to diminish the period of servitude, till at last, it was wholly abolished. The transportation of Anglo-Saxon youths to Rome, to be sold as slaves, gave occasion to the first missionary efforts for the conversion of Britain. Gregory, who was charmed with the beauty of the young men exposed for sale, from that moment determined to seek their spiritual good.† Mr. T.

\* The custom of bathing looks to the same source. "The washing of the feet in warm water, especially after travelling, is often mentioned. It was a part of indispensable hospitality to offer this refreshment to a visiter."—Vol. II, p. 218.

† "It happened at some time, as it often doth, that some English merchants brought their merchandize to Rome; and Gregory, passing along the street to the Englishmen, taking a view of their goods, he there beheld among their merchandizes, slaves set out to sale. They were white complexioned, and men of fair countenance, having noble heads of hair. And Gregory, when he saw the young men, inquired, 'from what country they were brought?' And they said, 'from England,' and that all the men in that nation were as beautiful. Then Gregory asked them whether the men of that land were Christians or heathen; and the men said unto him, they were heathens. Gregory then fetching a long sigh from the very bottom of his heart, said, 'Alas! alas! that men of so fair a countenance should be subject to the Prince of darkness.' After that Gregory inquired how they called the nation from whence they came. To which he was answered, that they were called Angle [that is English]. Then said he, 'Rightly they are called Angle, because they have the beauty of angels; and therefore it is very fit, that they should be the companions of angels in heaven.' Yet still Gregory inquired what the shire was named, from which the young men were brought. It was told him that the men of that shire were called Deiri. Gregory answered, 'Well they are called Deiri, because they are delivered from wrath and called to the mercy of Christ.' Yet again he inquired what was the name of the king of their province; he was answered, that the king's name was Ælla. Therefore, Gregory playing upon the words in allusion to the name, said, 'It is fit that Alleluia be sung in that land, in praise of the Almighty Creator.' Gregory then went to the Bishop of the



supposes that the Anglo-Saxon population, in the period just before the Norman conquest, must have exceeded two millions.

"The Anglo-Saxon literature," says a writer in the *North American Review* (No. LXXIII, p. 326), "is of some intrinsic value, though it certainly cannot be considered as a rich literature, in comparison with the Icelandic, or old Scandinavian, and still less with that of any modern civilized people. The original fountains of our laws flowed in this dialect. The light of Christianity first shone on the British island through its medium. The Saxon Chronicle, and other writings, are the earliest monuments of English history." Prof. Rask has shown, that it is not the fountain of the northern literature, as the Eddas. Turner says (Vol. II, p. 95), "It cannot be affirmed, that the Anglo-Saxon exhibits to us an original language. It is an ancient language, and has preserved much of the primitive form; but a large portion of it seems to have been made up from other ancient languages." He intimates, also, that whatever might have been the original condition of the language, it comes to us in a very cultivated shape. "Its cultivation is not only proved by its copiousness, by its numerous synonymes, by the declension of its nouns, the conjugation of its verbs, its abbreviated verbs or conjunctions, adverbs and prepositions, and its epithets, or adjectives; but also by its great number of compound words, applying to every shade of meaning."

In a language coming out of the midst of a barbarous tribe, having little or no connection with the classical models of southern Europe, whose literature is comprised in a very small circle of volumes, and confined to but few topics, and flourished but a few centuries at the utmost, among a people of whom three-quarters were in a state of vassalage, having time neither to write nor to read, and unable to meet the expense of purchasing manuscripts (for the art of printing was not yet invented), we should naturally expect extreme meagreness,—a tongue whose words would barely suffice for the most common intercourse of an outward, visible life. Whether the Anglo-Saxon were any thing more than this or not, previous to the propagation of Christianity in Britain,

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Apostolic See, and desired him, that he would send instructors to the English people, that they might be converted to Christ by the grace of God: and said that he himself was ready to undertake that work, if the Pope should see fit."—*Elstob's English-Saxon Homily on the Birth Day of St. Gregory*, p. 11. London, 1709.

we do not know. But, as it is handed down to us in the remains which have been preserved, we are surprised to find it a language of such copiousness. Mr. Turner has given, as a specimen, four simple words, from each of which he has collected about thirty derivatives. There are ten words which he gives as synonymous with *man*; and as many more, synonymous with *woman*; also, eighteen synonymes of *mind*; fourteen of *sea*, etc. Ælfric, in his Saxon grammar, finds Saxon terms for the abstruse distinctions and definitions of that science. \* Our own language indeed may be proposed, as a test of the copiousness of the original. The best writers demand but little aid from words of classical derivation, for the most energetic and clear expression of their thoughts.

All known languages manifest certain points of "ancestral consanguinity." The primeval stock has sent down portions from itself into every branch of the forest of tongues which has grown up on the earth. In forms, or words, or idioms, not only neighboring languages, but even distant nations are brought into proximity. The east and the west meet together. Shem and Japheth remember their father's house, and from their lips proceed sounds which betoken their common origin. Mr. Turner has arranged a few pages of Anglo-Saxon terms, with the foreign word to which each bears analogy subjoined,—an interesting table for the student of etymologies. Dr. Bosworth, with great clearness, appends to each radical word in his dictionary the corresponding word, whose root-letters are the same, in the Northern, Germanic, Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages, etc. Many of the Anglo-Saxon words approach more nearly to the German form, than the corresponding Saxon terms in our vernacular.

"The study of the Anglo-Saxon," says the writer before quoted,\* may be considered as essential to a complete knowledge of the modern English." And again, "the great lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, was fully sensible of the importance of assigning the Gothic portion of our language to its Gothic origin." Of the labors of the latter, however, Dr. Bosworth says, "An impartial judge, considering the medley of materials, the blunders, the negligence, or typographical errors

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\* N. A. Review, No. LXXIII, p. 326.

occurring in deducing words from their originals, will conclude, that the etymological part of Johnson's Dictionary, even in the edition of 1827, is not deserving of the expense and the labor bestowed upon it, and is quite unworthy of the nation, of whose language it is the chief interpreter, if not the uncontrolled lawgiver."

Malte Brun remarks, "The Anglo-Saxon language resembles the English in its structure, grammar, and idiomatic expressions. The genius of the two languages is the same, and the one may be considered the daughter of the other. A knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon enabled an English philologist, [Horne Tooke] to analyze all the indeclinable parts of speech in his own language, and to trace them to their source. The English language is principally derived from the Saxon; and it has been remarked that the idiomatic phrases, those on which the characteristic differences of languages depend, are the same in the one and in the other."\*

The period of the first written composition in Anglo-Saxon cannot be definitely ascertained. Some think the laws of Ethelbert are the first composition in that tongue. Others give the preference to *Beowulf*, the *Traveller's Song*, etc. The purest period of the language was, doubtless, from about A. D. 600† to A. D. 1100. A complete catalogue of the works extant in the language is to be found in Hickeys' *Institutiones Linguae Anglo-Saxonicae*, and Hickeys' *Thesaurus*. Many of them have never been printed. The best collection of the MSS. is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; where, also, more has been done to promote the study of Anglo-Saxon, than any where else. Bosworth gives a descriptive catalogue of the chief works that have been printed, in chronological order. The first was in 1567, a treatise on the sacrament, by Ælfric, showing the views of the church in England on that point six hundred years before. Ælfric was also the author of a Saxon treatise concerning the Old and New Testament; of a translation of the first seven books of the Old Testament, and fragments of others; and of a Latin Grammar, written in Anglo-Saxon; all of which have been printed. The Anglo-Saxon gospels, translated

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\* Malte Brun, Vol. III, B. 152, p. 1120. Boston ed. 4to. 1834.

† The commencement of Saxon literature was nearly synchronous with the planting of Christianity. Augustine, who was sent to Britain by Gregory, for the purpose of publishing the gospel among the Saxons, began his labors A. D. 597.

from the Latin, accompanied by the Gothic version of Ulphilas, with a Gothic Lexicon, was also printed in 1665, under the care of the celebrated Francis Junius. A copy of this work is in the library of Harvard University. The Book of Psalms, with an Anglo-Saxon version, taken from a MS. in the king's library at Paris, was published in England in 1835. The Ecclesiastical History of the venerable Bede, in Latin, with an Anglo-Saxon version by king Alfred, the Saxon Chronicle, and the Saxon laws, was published at Cambridge, England, in 1644. Alfred's translation of Orosius, the historian,—and of Boëthius, on the consolations of philosophy; Cædmon's poetical paraphrase of the book of Genesis, and of the principal histories of the sacred Scriptures; and Beowulf, a poem, which treats of some of the exploits of Danish history in the third and fourth centuries, make up the catalogue of the most important works that have been printed in this language. As early as A. D. 1135, the language became "corrupted in its idiom, inflections and orthography." Wickliffe's translation of the Scriptures, A. D. 1380, is so great an advance beyond the Anglo-Saxon of Alfred's time, that we see in it only our own vernacular English.

King Alfred may well be denominated the father of Anglo-Saxon literature. At the age of twelve years, he was unable to read. But, by the encouragement of his step-mother, he acquired the art, and exhibited the greatest fondness for it. A few Saxon poems existed in the language, which he heard, in the court of his father and brothers, from men who took delight in repeating them. "Wherever they were recited, by day or night, Alfred is recorded to have been, before he could read, an eager auditor, and was industrious to commit them to his memory. This fondness for poetry continued with him through life. It was always one of his principal pleasures to learn Saxon poems, and to teach them to others." But the literature of the language was, up to his time, extremely meagre. Most of the learning was confined to monasteries; and the ecclesiastics who came from Rome felt little interest in creating a literature in a strange tongue, for a people whose ignorance would not permit them to make any use of it. "Cædmon and Aldhelm had sung; but," as Turner remarks, "almost all the learning of the nation was clothed in the Latin phrase." Bede was a voluminous



writer ; but he wrote only in Latin. The polished Alcuin wrote in Latin also. But Alfred, animated by a desire of knowledge, having collected a body of learned men around him from foreign countries, and acquired elevation and pleasure from their instructions, was anxious, like a good king, to diffuse the benefits of literature as well as religion, among his people also. He commenced, by translating a book entitled "Pastoralis ;" to use his own words,—“Then began I, among much other manifold business of this kingdom, to turn into English\* the book named Pastoralis, or the Herdsman's Book, sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense, so as I had learned from Plegmund, my archbishop ; and of Asser, my bishop ; of Grimbold, my mass-priest ; and of John, my mass-priest ; and as I understood, and could most intellectually express it, I have turned it into English.”

Alfred's translation of Boëthius is “the most expressive exhibition of his own mind.” Boëthius was born about A. D. 470, at Milan or Rome. After he had pursued a course of education under the best influences of the age, he was received with great favor by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, then master of Italy. For a season, he enjoyed great influence with the people and their sovereign. But afterwards, the popular current changed, and he was imprisoned and executed, A. D. 524 or 526. While he was in prison, charged with some political crime, he wrote his celebrated book, *De consolatione philosophiæ*, “whose object is to diminish the influence of riches, dignity, power, pleasure or glory ; and to prove their inadequacy to produce happiness.” It is written in prose and verse intermixed. The translation of Alfred is, as he remarks of the translation of the Pastoralis, “sometimes word for word, and sometimes sense for sense ;” though there is far more of the latter than of the former. Mr. Turner says, “Alfred has taken occasion to insert, in various parts, many of his own thoughts and feelings. He has thus composed several little moral essays, and by them has transmitted himself to posterity in his own words

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\*The Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to call their language *English*. The above is a specimen. In complaining of the illiterate state of his own age, Alfred also says, “There are very few on this side of the Humber who understand to say their prayers in English, or to translate any letter from Latin into English.” Ælfric was desired by Æthelward to translate the book of Genesis from Latin into English. Leofric calls the manuscript which he gave to the Exeter cathedral, a “great English Book” (*mycel Englisc boc*).

and manner." Writing for the benefit of his people, he has given rather a paraphrase than a translation, sometimes expanding to an inordinate length the thought in the original, and sometimes omitting entirely a paragraph or chapter of Boëthius, and substituting one of his own. It is a literary curiosity, being the first translation extant of a classical author into any modern European tongue. Mr. Turner, in his *History*, gives an extended analysis of the work, and a translation of large portions of it.

Alfred's version of Orosius is conducted on the same principles with that of Boëthius. Orosius was a priest of Tarraco or Tarragona, in Catalonia, in the beginning of the fifth century. He was a disciple of St. Augustine; and at his suggestion, undertook to write a history of the world, from the creation to A. D. 416. This history is the basis of Alfred's work. It embraces a sketch of the chief German nations, an account of the voyages of Ohthere to the North Pole, and of Wulfstan to the Baltic, during his reign, which were appended by the royal translator.

Alfred also translated the *History of Bede* into Anglo-Saxon, sometimes condensing, and sometimes omitting portions of the original. This is called by Turner "his great historical work." Malmsbury writes, that Alfred began to translate the psalms of David; but that he died before they were finished. He also made many pious selections from the meditations of St. Austin, which he rendered into his native tongue. The *Life of St. Neot* says, that he made many books; and Malmsbury affirms, that he put into English a great part of the Roman compositions.

After the extraordinary literary labors of Alfred, very little was done, showing progressive development in the Anglo-Saxon mind, or by way of adding to Anglo-Saxon literature. He was in advance of his people; and none in the nation reached him, until the Anglo-Saxon language gave place to the English. For a considerable period before the Norman conquest, nothing was written in the Anglo-Saxon but homilies, sermons, prayers, etc. The biblical translations and the grammatical works of Ælfric, however, belong to this period.

The poetry of the Anglo-Saxons was of very peculiar structure. The lines were short, composed often of only four or six syllables. Rhyme was not necessary, but they employed a

peculiar sort of alliteration in the emphatic syllables. They used, however, both line-rhyme and final-rhyme, in addition to the alliteration.\* Their poetry is not divided into stanzas or strophes; but continued through, from beginning to end, without division. One of the earliest specimens of Anglo-Saxon poetry is Cædmon's Hymn on the Creation. It is preserved by Alfred in his translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. The poetic talent of Cædmon appears, from Bede, to have been conferred upon him when he was at an advanced age, and in a miraculous manner. The English of the hymn is as follows:

"Now should we praise	for (us) the sons of earth,
Heaven's guardian king,	Heaven's canopy,—
our Maker's might	Holy Creator!
and wisdom,—	Then this middle-reign
Father of glorious works!	for mortal habitation,—
Thus he, of every (varied) wonder,—	Eternal Lord!
Eternal Lord!	Next framed
established the origin.	for men,—the earth,—
First he created	Ruler Omnipotent!"

This short poem exhibits some of the peculiar characteristics of Anglo-Saxon poetry, especially the repetition of thoughts and words, and various periphrastic expressions for the same idea. Thus, in the eighteen lines above, eight are only expressions of the name of God. In Cædmon's paraphrase of the history of the flood, Mr. Turner enumerates twenty-eight forms used to describe the *ark*. The hymn on the Creation was followed by successive productions, detailing many of the principal histories of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha, and some scenes from the New; especially Christ's descent into hell. Among these, we have in Mr. Turner a large analysis of the poem on Judith, with translations. Several sections of the poem are lost. The fragments which remain are, in fact, a poetical romance. The principal events, taken from the apocryphal story, serve as the basis; but the filling up belongs to the age, and taste, and

\* The following extract from the *Rhyming Poem*, taken from Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, will serve as a specimen of alliteration and rhyme:

"Flah mah fliteth,	The violent arrow flieth,
Flan man hwiteth,	The spear smiteth them;
Burg sorg biteth,	Sorrow devoureth the city;
Bald ald thwiteth,	The bold man in age decays,
Wræc-fæc writhath,	The season of vengeance tormenteth him,
Wrath ath smiteth.	And enmity easily assaileth him."

national customs of the author. In his account of the fall of the angels, Cædmon is said by one to exhibit a Miltonic spirit. By others, he is called the father of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the Milton of our forefathers. Turner says, "If it were clear, that our illustrious bard had been familiar with the Saxon, we should be induced to think, that he owed something to the paraphrase of Cædmon. No one at least can read Cædmon, without feeling the idea intruding on his mind." The paraphrase of Cædmon, with an English translation, notes, &c., by Mr. Thorpe, was published in London, in 1832.

The poem of Beowulf is a very ancient epic, dating somewhere between the seventh and tenth centuries. Its author is unknown, but a writer on the subject, says, "he was unquestionably a Christian." Though it has its own peculiar character, drawing its personages and machinery from the treasures of the north, its general manner is precisely that of other epics with which we are familiar. The scene is laid in Jutland, and partakes largely of narratives of war and bloodshed. An analysis of the poem may be found in Turner's history. Grundtvig, a modern Danish poet, by a paraphrase of the Anglo-Saxon of Beowulf, has constructed a heroic of ten cantos, which appeared at Copenhagen in 1820. An edition of it was published in London, in 1837, with an English translation, notes and glossary, by Mr. Kemble.

There are many minor pieces in the Anglo-Saxon language, of which we have said nothing. But the *poem of Beowulf* and *Cædmon's paraphrase of portions of Holy Writ* are the two great epics of the language. Odes and other compositions in this tongue may be found in *Conybeare's Illustrations*, etc.

We have thus far delayed to speak of the version of the Gospels, the title of which stands at the head of this article. Of the Gothic portion of it, we have only to say, that it is the version of Ulphilas, and the text of the celebrated Codex Argenteus. Hug conjectures, that it was translated from the Greek.\* Thomas Marshall, the companion of Junius, to whom we are indebted also for this volume, had expressed the same opinion before him.

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\* Hug's Introd. to the N. T., pp. 283—298.



The Gothic version was now printed for the first time, as appears from the title-page, and from the dedication of Junius (*nunc primum depromsit*). The Anglo-Saxon version was drawn from a collation of manuscripts in that tongue. The MSS. were evidently rendered from the Latin Vulgate;\* for marks of its papal origin perpetually occur. Rubrics are interspersed throughout, directing at what masses, feasts or fasts particular portions shall be read. "Repent" is rendered "Do penance." In Matt. 6: 1, instead of "alms," we have "righteousnesses," (*rihtwisnesse*) in the Anglo-Saxon; as if, according to the view of the Romish church, the doing of alms were to be regarded a source of merit. In other passages in the chapter where the term occurs, it is rendered, as in our version, "alms" (*ælmessan*). The Gothic renders it "alms" (*armaion*) in every instance. The Anglo-Saxon omits the doxology at the close of the Lord's prayer, but the Gothic retains it. In Matt. 6: 24, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon," the former translates *mammon*, worldly weal or riches (*woruld-wealan*); the latter has *mammon*. The Anglo-Saxon generally uses the form, 'The Saviour,' instead of 'Jesus;' and *sundir-halig*, a separate holy person, a holy-separate, in some cases, for the word *Pharisee*. In Matt. 13: 55, Christ is spoken of as a *smith*; and in Mark 6: 3, as a *smith's* son, the generic term being used for the specific; for smith, in Anglo-Saxon, implied any sort of mechanic. The Gothic uses *timrga*, faber; the verb from which generally implies *ædificare*. The Greek is τέκτων. In Matt. 25: 1, the Anglo-Saxon version adds, at the end of the verse, the words, 'and the bride.' In verse 13, it omits the words, 'when the Son of man cometh.' In Luke 15: 12, the Anglo-Saxon says the *elder* son asked for the distribution of his father's estate. The Gothic agrees with our common version. In John 3: 2, after the term 'Rabbi,' the Anglo-Saxon adds the interpretation, 'that is, Master.' Several other slight differences of a similar character might be noticed. Wickliffe's version sometimes adopts them, as Luke 16: 22, 'was buried in hell,' i. e., probably in a grave or tomb.

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\* The Anglo-Saxon scholars were not independent students. They were not men of original investigation, especially in matters of Biblical criticism. They could not be expected to be so. They received the manuscripts of the New Testament, which the priests from Rome put into their hands, without the opportunity to test them by an extensive collation of copies, even if they had possessed the will and the ability.

Neither the Anglo-Saxon nor the Gothic version of the New Testament can be esteemed of high critical value, as aids to interpretation. The streams are too remote from the fountain. We cannot decide whether a given quality comes unchanged from the source, or whether it is to be attributed to the soils through which the water has filtered. Catholic Rome has had too much to do with the Scriptures, as they have been translated or explained by her ecclesiastics, or as the rites enjoined by them have been taught, for us to feel any confidence in the results of the labors of those ecclesiastics, unless we are able narrowly to scrutinize them for ourselves. Still these translations are, in some sense, to be regarded as historical testimony to matters of fact. As the words of the original which are descriptive of the rites and ordinances of religion expressed, as far as possible, the *modus* of those rites, so the words of these translations, it may be supposed, expressed the *modus* of the rites of Christianity, as they were understood and practised at the period when the respective versions were made. Errors in regard to the meaning, or the value, or the necessity of a rite might arise, without invalidating the testimony which they furnish in respect to the rite itself. Though they have adopted the erroneous opinion, that baptism is essential to salvation, we may nevertheless believe them, when they tell us what that baptism is, which is essential to salvation; and when, as in their versions, they inform us, not controversially, but incidentally, what was the form of baptism which they received. We have felt some curiosity in questioning these ancient documents concerning the doctrine of baptism which was transmitted to them from Rome, from the early ages, and which they taught to our forefathers. The word which the Anglo-Saxon version uses for the verb 'to baptize,' is *fullian* or *fulwian*. We find the same term in Alfred's translation of Bede, wherever that ordinance is spoken of, and in the Saxon Chronicle (A. D. 942). Dr. Bosworth remarks, that the particle "*ful* or *full*, in composition, denotes the fulness or completeness of any thing." With the verb *fullian*, may be compared the English *fuller*, Anglo-Saxon, *fullere* (Mark 9: 3), "so as no fuller on earth can white them." The language has the word *bedyppan*,\*

\* Matt. 26: 23, *Se the bedyppth on disce his hand*—"He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish," etc. This word *bedyppan* is that which Alfred uses in the next extract to explain *fullian*. Or, to reduce the Latin extract from Bede to a Latin definition, using Bede's own words—*Baptizare est in aquam puram demergere atque denuo emergere.*

to dip, immerge, and *dufian*, to sink, dive, immerge; but the other term seems to be appropriated to the Christian ordinance. Nor can we hesitate, as to the force of their *fullian*. For, in speaking of the nature of regeneration, as a spiritual process, and not visible, Bede remarks,\* as translated by Alfred—"Forthan the we geseon ne magon hwæt thæs bith gefremed on tham gefullodan menn. Thu gesyht hine bedyppan on tham sciran wætere, and eft up ateon mid tham ilcan hiwe the he hæfde æror ærthan the he dufe." The original of this extract from Bede, which describes the form of baptism, is, "Quoniam inspicere haud possumus, quid intus in homine baptizato perficiatur; vides quod ille in aquam puram sit demersus, atque denuò emersus cum eodem colore quem habuit priusquam demersus esset"—i. e. For we cannot perceive what takes place internally in the baptized person. You see that he is plunged into clear water, and raised up again with the same color which he had before he was immersed. Mr. Turner also affirms, that the Anglo-Saxons baptized by immersion. (Vol. II, p. 189.) We may add, that the Gothic version uses the term *daupgan*, with which we may compare Anglo-Saxon, *dyppan*, and Greek, *δύπτειν*, of which Junius, under the word, in the Glossary to Ulphilas, says—"δύπτειν Græcis est aquas subire, aquis immergere."

In confirmation of this verbal testimony, we have the following interesting paragraph in Bede. "Paulinus preached† the word of God in that province for six successive years, till the death of the king (Edwin, A. D. 633), with his entire approbation. And, as many as were ordained to eternal life believed and were baptized; among whom were Osfrid and Eadfrid, the king's sons, who were both born of Quenburg, daughter of Charles, king of Mercia, when he was in exile. At another time were baptized also his other children, by his queen Edilberga, Ethilhun, and Ethildrith his daughter, and Wuscfrea, another son, the two former of whom soon after died, and were buried in the church in York. Iffe, also, the son of Osfrid, was baptized, and other

\* Bede's Hist. Eccl., Lib. I, cap. 17. De peccato originali, Cantab., 1644. fol. Bede was firm in the faith of baptismal regeneration. He says, in the same chapter—"Novit sancta mater, quæ est Ecclesia, infantem illum fonte quidem peccatis plenum intingi; sed per baptismum sanctum jam peccatis ablutum extrahi."

† Bede's Eccl. Hist., Lib. II, cap. 14.

noble persons, not a few. So ardent was the faith and desire of baptism in the people of Northumbria, that on one occasion, Paulinus having come with the king and queen to the royal abode, he remained with them thirty-six days, catechizing and baptizing. And all those days, from morning till night, he did nothing but instruct in the word of salvation the multitude who flowed together to him from all the towns, and afterwards baptized them in the river Glenus, which was near. . . . He did the same also in the province of Bernicia and of Deira, where he used often to remain with the king, and baptized in the river Swalwa, which flows by the town of Cataractus. For in that early period of the rising church, they had not yet been able to build oratories or baptisteries."

We cannot do better than to seal the value of the preceding statements concerning the customs of the Anglo-Saxon church, by quoting a paragraph from Mrs. Elstob: \* "It is one of the great blessings of our conversion, and one of the great comforts that attended it, that it was effected at a time and by such persons as made it, with respect to faith and discipline, both orthodox and regular. It is true, we received the Christian faith from the Roman church; but when that church was a sound and uncorrupt branch of the Catholic church; when it taught no other doctrine, and imposed no other articles of faith, than had been delivered down from the first ages by the Catholic church. That faith and discipline, which was first sent hither by St. Gregory, which was first preached to the English Saxons by St. Augustine, the same continued in its primitive purity for some ages; the same, after a long night of ignorance and superstition, was revived and restored by the Reformation." EDITOR.

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\* Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily on the Birth Day of St. Gregory*, Pref., p. 13.



## ARTICLE VII.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHILIASM, OR THE DOCTRINE OF A MILLENNIUM.

THE doctrine of a personal reign of Christ on earth, seems to have originated in the earliest ages of antiquity, and has always existed in the world. We can go up even to the fountain-head, and follow the stream down through all its windings,—not, indeed, in every case, with positive historical certainty, but yet sufficiently so, for all practical purposes.

The germ of Chiliasm,\* we take it, is to be found in the promise of God to our first parents, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. This laid the foundation for hope; and hope, having once taken possession of the human breast, would immediately begin to show her fine pictures of what was to come; and, calling to her aid all the riotings of imagination, would spread out her fields, construct her castles, and erect her bowers of pleasure, all, in accordance with her fond anticipations. As Chiliasm had its origin in a real promise of God, so also it derived its nutriment from his promises of future good for his people, repeated from age to age. It was no vain fancy that engendered its principal idea, and kept it in existence. It was a reality, which has already blessed the world in the triumphs of the cross; and which has unspeakable treasures of future good in store for the human family. Hold of this reality the mind of man has seized with avidity; and out of it, been able, by the aid of false hermeneutics, vague conjectures, venerable traditions, and supposed inspirations and visions from God, to make whatever was regarded as desirable. Such, in general terms, has been the origin of Chiliasm, as it has ever existed in the world, and especially in the church,—from the grossest to the most refined. It was a living fountain, in the outset. Its waters are still sweet and good, wherever you can find them clear; but they run through swamps, and spread themselves over muddy soils, whence

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\* We use the word Chiliasm, from the Greek *χίλις*, rather than Millennarianism, from the Latin, as being shorter and easier.

they issue, at last, in great impurity.\* The statements now made, might be amply illustrated from history, were there time and space for the purpose. To throw out a few hints is all that can here be attempted.†

The heathen, retaining some vague recollections of a former golden age, in connection with this first promise, would, especially under the influence of earthly calamities, look forward to its return, and sing, in their poems, of a glorious age yet to come. In this way it is easy to account for the origin of the fables among them respecting a glorious future, the expected dwelling of the gods upon the earth, and pictures of a similar nature.‡

It was among the Jews, however, that Chiliasm received its largest development. They seized hold of the various prophecies of the Bible respecting the coming of a Messiah,—for instance, the words of Jacob on his death-bed respecting Shiloh, the prophecy of Balaam, the promises made to David and Solomon respecting the permanency of their throne through all ages, and a variety of others. The very obscurity in which these prophecies were involved, was adapted to this purpose. Their philosophy, derived from simple reflection rather than from scientific investigation, furnished them with no correctives. Their fundamental principles of interpretation, at the same time, gave an unlimited range to their fancies. Not only were they accustomed to allegorize every thing; but they openly maintained that the Scriptures mean all they can be made to mean; that, on every point of the divine word, hang mountains of sense; and that it is impossible truly to understand the law of God, without the aid of tradition, or the קבלה.

National pride must also be taken into the account, as well as all the extravagance of oriental imagination, and probably, also, a spirit of romance, which loved to blend truth and fiction together, until the dividing lines of the two could

\* Chiliasm has very aptly been divided into *crassus*, *subtilis*, and *subtilissimus*, according to the proportion in which enthusiastic and visionary conceptions are mingled with the scriptural idea of the future kingdom of the Messiah. The lowest kind is characterized by the belief of the *visible* appearance and reign of Christ upon the earth, a resurrection of the saints before the general judgment, etc. The more refined excludes this idea. See Knapp's Theol., II, p. 638.

† Various persons have written on Chiliasm, to a greater or less extent. For a list of them, see Hahn's Lehrbuch des Christl. Glaubens, § 153. We follow Corrodi as our principal guide, in the 1st ed. of his Krit. Geschichte des Chiliasmus, Leipz. 1781-3.

‡ Knapp's Theol., II, § 89.

no longer be discovered, and the word of God could, in their minds, hardly be separated from the additions which it had received at the hand of man. More than all the rest, their religion, so admirably adapted, in its purity, to elevate them above every thing earthly and sensual, had become sadly perverted, and reduced mainly to external acts of worship, such as praying and fasting, and to various ceremonial observances. All its prescriptions fell under one of the six heads of seeds, festivals, women, property, things sacred and things clean and unclean. It considered the punctilious observance of ceremonial laws as so meritorious, that no other atonement for sin was necessary. It knew nothing of the new birth; it made little or no account of moral conduct. The ideas it embraced of God were of the most childish and unworthy description. He was conceived of, as having a visible form, of vast dimensions, which some went so far as even to indicate. He had abundance of good and bad angels under him, through whom, with the exception of his own peculiar people, he governed the nations of the earth. He passed his time chiefly in studying the law, instructing the souls of deceased children, and attending to the affairs of his dominions. The evenings of every day, he spent in playing with leviathan, the most distinguished of all the creatures he had made on earth. He often repented of what he had done, and that he had sworn to engage in particular undertakings. Indeed, he was scarcely elevated, in their apprehensions, above the ideas which the Greeks had of their Jupiter Olympus.

As to the human family, all souls had been brought into existence during the six days of the creation, and reserved (or as others say, only those of the righteous) in a repository of what is denominated the heavenly *גן*. Every man has three souls. Every Jew, on the Sabbath, had a superfluous soul, which left him as soon as the day of rest was over. According to some, the soul, after death, wandered into other bodies. The most part, however, supposed that it passed directly, either into paradise, or hell.

As to paradise, some believed it had been created 1365, and others, 2000 years before the world. It was not situated on the earth. That it was of great extent, all admitted; many supposed it immeasurable. In it, there were seven palaces, each of which was a hundred and twenty thousand

miles long, and as many wide. To this paradise there were two gates of ruby, upon which six hundred thousand angels, whose faces shone as the firmament, were in constant attendance.

As to hell, it was sixty times larger than paradise, or, as others will have it, of unlimited extent. It contained seven apartments, and had three gates through which it could be entered; the first at Jerusalem, according to Isa. 31: 9; the second in the Arabian desert, where Korah, Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up alive; and the third in the sea, according to Jonah 2: 2; "I cried unto thee out of the belly of hell." On this subject, however, as on almost every point of religion among the Jews, there were different opinions, some supposing hell had seven gates, others fifty, and others fifty thousand. That justice was poorly executed among a people in such a condition, and with but little regard for the principles of right, may well be conjectured; but enough, for the present purpose. The whole may be summed up with saying, that the moral and religious state of the Jews, at the time of Christ, was exactly what it is described to be in the New Testament, and that this had been their state for a long time previous. Where could gross Chiliasm find a better soil? It was here, in particular, that it took root and flourished most abundantly.

In proof of this, we have ample authority. The views of the Jews on this subject are still extant in apocryphal and rabbinical works, especially the Talmud, some of them written before the time of Christ, but the most of them soon afterwards,—all of them, however, as there is every reason to think, embodying traditions of a much higher antiquity, than the age in which they were committed to writing.\*

As then the heathen looked forward to the coming of a golden age, a return of the primeval happiness of the world, so also did the Jews. This expectation, however, with the latter was peculiar, and distinguished from that of other nations in this respect, that this period was placed by them in the times when the Messiah should appear. These happy times they denominated the עולם הבא, or *age to come*.† Especially was this idea developed among them during the

\* See Corrodi; also Buxtorf. *De Abbreviaturis Hebr.*; Prideaux's *Con.*; *Bib. Repos.*, Oct., 1839, p. 261, etc.

† Knapp's *Theol.*, II, § 89.



Babylonish captivity. The unhappy condition in which they found themselves at this period constrained them to seize hold of every thing, which encouraged them with the hopes of future deliverance. The oppression which they experienced under the Romans had a similar influence upon them, compelling them to look forward to a day, when a king should arise among them, and, conquering all their enemies, establish them again in their own land, and bless them on every side. That there were many among the Jews at the time of Christ, who had no such gross anticipations, but depended on the all-subduing Spirit of God alone for relief from the various calamities with which they were afflicted, and were expecting a more exalted kingdom of God, a spiritual and holy kingdom, to arise out of Judaism, which should bless not only themselves, but all nations, and who, as the times grew darker and iniquity abounded, became more and more ardent in their aspirations for the speedy appearance of this kingdom, the advent of the Messiah, this manifestation of God, and the actual redemption of the world from sin, there can be no question. The large mass of them, however, had far different views of the subject, and were looking for a kingdom of worldly aggrandizement, of sensual happiness, and the realization of that system of things which had long been taught by their teachers in oral traditions, the great outlines of which were embodied in the Mishnah, about the middle of the second century.\*

As to the period when the Messiah should come, the more ancient Jews relied upon the prophecies of Daniel for proof. They would seem to have regarded the fourth kingdom spoken of by this sacred writer, as the Grecian monarchy. According to this view, as developed by Corrodi, the Messiah was to come soon after the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, or 490 years from the destruction of the first temple. This was the earliest opinion held on the subject. Those Jews, however, who lived subsequently to Antiochus Epiphanes, and at the commencement of the Roman dominion over them, suppose the fourth kingdom of which Daniel speaks to consist of this power. This is clear, from hints on the subject to be found in Josephus. Of course they made a corresponding disposition of other circumstances. Every thing that had been prophesied of the fourth beast, and

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\* *Bibl. Repos.*, July, 1839, p. 182.

especially of the little horn, was to be sought for in the Roman emperors, particularly Titus. The abominable desolation of which mention is made in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, had reference to the destruction of the second temple. Some of the Jews who lived shortly after this event, regarded the word עֶרְבָּי as designating a space of a hundred years; and hence, looked for their Messiah to make his appearance in their behalf and set up his kingdom, a fifth monarchy, at the distance of 350 years from this destruction.

There were other Jews, particularly the Hellenists, who founded their calculations respecting the age of the Messiah and the end of the world, upon certain apocryphal works, and especially the book of Enoch. In this book there is to be found a passage respecting the fall of the Watchers, or those angels who are said to have associated with the daughters of men, previously to the flood. It runs thus:

"To Michael, likewise, the Lord said; Go and announce *his crime* to Samyaza, and to the others who are with him, who have been associated with women, that they might be polluted with all their impurity. And when all their sons shall be slain, when they shall see the perdition of their beloved, bind them for seventy generations underneath the earth, even to the day of judgment and of consummation, until the judgment, *the effect* of which will last for ever, be completed. And then shall all the saints give thanks, and live until they have begotten a thousand children, while the whole period of their youth, and their sabbaths shall be completed in peace. In those days all the earth shall be cultivated in righteousness; it shall be wholly planted with trees, and filled with benediction, etc."\*

The length of time embraced in these seventy generations, is to be computed by aid of the Septuagint version. Some of the Hellenists, it is said, reckoned two thousand years from the beginning of the world down to the time of Enoch; which, according to their mode of computation, would constitute about thirty generations. Admit, then, that seventy more generations were to follow from this time onward down to the end of the world, this would make six thousand six hundred and sixty-six years in all. As, however, the LXX make only a thousand one hundred and twenty-two years to have intervened between the creation of the world and the birth of Enoch, we may place the time in which he received his revelation in the two hundred and fifty-eighth year of his age. Seventy generations of sixty-six years each, added to this, would exactly make out six thousand years, at which

\* Lawrence's Enoch, 3d ed., p. 10.

time, on the supposition that the seventh thousand years was to constitute a Sabbath of rest for the world, the day of judgment was to be expected, and the commencement of the reign of the Messiah in all its glory, a view in favor of which, these Hellenists could allege other apocryphal evidence.

The rabbinical Jews had still other sources to which they resorted for proof, as to the period when their Messiah would come. They disagree, indeed, among themselves, somewhat, as to the result; and yet, to a certain extent, they may be said to harmonize together. A few specimens of this proof, is all that can here be adduced.

“An ancient tradition of the house of Elias is here quoted by the Rabbis, in preference to all others.\* It runs thus: The world is to stand six thousand years; two thousand before the law, two thousand years under the law, and two thousand years under the Messiah; or, to interpret the passage more literally, two thousand years desert, or without knowledge; two thousand years, law, that is, during which the law is to prevail; and two thousand years of Messianic days.”† According to this tradition, the Messiah was to make his appearance at the end of four thousand years. As, however, this would constrain all the modern Jews to believe that their Messiah has already come, they have been in the habit of so interpreting it, especially in all their controversies with Christians, as to make it say that he would come at any time within the last two thousand years, at an earlier or a later period, according as the Jews repented of their sins or not.

In the same tractate of the Talmud from which the preceding was taken, it is said: “The world will be of no shorter duration than 85 jubilees; and in the last of these, is the son of David to come.” This will make 4250 years. This revelation was received by Rabbi Jehuda from Rabbi Salla, the brother of Elias. After this it is related, that Rabbi Chanan, the son of Tachalipha, imparted another tradition, or rather revelation to Rabbi Joseph, in which the time of the coming of the Messiah is definitely fixed. He informs us, that from a soldier he received a book written in the Assyrian

\* Whether is meant, thereby, the pupils of the prophet Elias, or of a certain Rabbi, who is said to have lived 150 years after the building of the second temple, is uncertain.

† Tract. Sanhed. Oist. Cheheck. See Corrodi.

character and the sacred language,—a book which the soldier informed him he had found among the antiquities or treasures of Rome. This book contains the following prophecy: “The world is to stand four thousand two hundred and ninety-one years, and after that is the end to follow. Then will come the wars of the dragon. The defeat of Gog and Magog shall succeed. The rest of the days will be those of the Messiah; for God will not renew the world earlier than after seven thousand years.” Rabbi Abba, a contemporary of Simeon Jochaides, is also said to have received a revelation somewhat similar. “Rabbi Abba was standing in the school, when he heard a voice calling to him, ‘Abba, Abba!’ ‘Whose voice is that?’ asked Abba. The reply was, ‘I am Elias, the prophet, who am sent to reveal to you a thing which you have long desired to know. Thou hast doubts as to the signs of the times, when the Messiah shall appear. Know then, that the Roman empire will, at that time, prevail over the whole world. The ancient religion will fall into a decline. Nations will rise up against their kings; the unlearned against the wise; the accused against their judges; the wicked against the good; and children against their parents. The Messiah will be unknown until, at length, he is rooted out, and subjected to many sorrows.’ Rabbi Abba replied, ‘Lord, I as yet know nothing. When will all this happen?’ Elias answered, ‘When four thousand years from the creation of the world have passed away. I know not, however, whether at the beginning of the following thousand years, or at the end of them.’ ‘And where, then, will he be born?’ asked Abba. ‘Near by the grave of Rachel,’ was the answer of Elias.”

There are others, among the Jews, who place the coming of the Messiah at a still later period, even in the 6th chiliad. To this class belongs Rabbi Simeon;\* and he founds his views in this respect, in part, on Lev. 26: 42. “The vav,” says he, “with which the name עֶקֶב is written, means the six thousandth year, and designates the time when God will remember his people. Other quotations from the writings of the Rabbis on this subject might be made; but enough has been done for our present purpose.

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\* Corrodi I, 274. Zohar Gen., fol. 74. Col. 292, 293. Rabbi Simeon's views, says Corrodi, are in some respects obscure.



It will be seen, that the ancient Jews differed from each other as to the time of the coming of the Messiah, at least a full thousand years,—some placing it in the fifth chiliad, and others near the seventh. There was, however, in many respects, a harmony of views among them after all.

I. They generally held that the world was to stand seven thousand years.

II. They regarded the seventh chiliad as intended to be a period of rest for the world.

III. They designated the days of the Messiah as the latter days. This period of terrestrial repose was to be enjoyed under his glorious reign. As to the origin of their views in this respect, it is not difficult to conjecture. They regarded the creation of the world by God in a course of six days, and his resting from it on the seventh, as emblematical of the length of time during which the world was to stand,—one day being with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,—according to Ps. 90: 4,—so that the seventh chiliad was to constitute a period of hallowed repose for the world from the prevalence of wickedness.

If we look a little closer, we shall also find, that the majority of the ancient Jews, whether at home or abroad, were looking for their Messiah at the end of about four thousand years. Accordingly, there was a general expectation among the Jews of the coming of their Messiah, about the beginning of the Christian era; and at that time various false Christs made their appearance,—as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles and also Josephus. The more modern Jews, unwilling to believe that the Messiah has already come, contrive various ways to get rid of the difficulty,—and have accordingly fixed upon different times when he was to be expected, and been proportionably troubled with false Messiahs, down even quite to the present moment,—as may be seen by consulting almost any history of the Jews.\*

As to the signs of the Messiah's coming, the Jews speak freely,—neglecting, however, nothing which should serve for the exaltation of that happiness which they anticipated from his reign. They prophesy of greater calamities, of severer sufferings, than they had hitherto experienced,—of scarcity, the oppression of their people, the decline of

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\* Alexander Keith, in his *History of the Jews*, gives a list of twenty-four, since the commencement of the Christian era.

knowledge, morality, and religion, and of numerous other miseries,—thus rendering the transition to that blessed age as striking as possible. They make the Gentile inhabitants of the earth fill up the measure of their iniquity, in trampling on the children of God, the favorites of the Most High,—in order thus to find arguments of defence for subjecting them in the end entirely to their own control,—while they, in general, heap as much misery upon the heads of other nations, as they cause happiness and peace to flow in upon themselves.

The ancient Rabbis, as it would seem, also had a tradition among them, founded perhaps upon Num. 24: 17, that a new star should make its appearance at the time of the Messiah's birth. Various passages might be quoted from the Zohar to this effect, but one must suffice.\* “It is a doctrine; God hath resolved to build Jerusalem, and to show a star, which shines with seventy other stars, and from which seventy other stars go forth; and seventy others will with these have a beginning. When, however, this star has ceased to appear, wars will arise in all the four corners of the earth. When this star makes its appearance in the heavens, there will arise in the midst of the earth a great and mighty king, who shall be exalted over all kings. He will fight and conquer.”

“That this tradition is older than the time of Christ,” says Corrodi, “I have no doubt,—the account given in Matthew, confirming me in this belief,—the magi there, speaking of the star which appeared to them, as something well known. ‘For we have seen his star in the East.’ There was also a tradition that the Messiah should first manifest himself in Galilee; “and this tradition,” adds the same author, “was doubtless as old as the former.”

The Jews farther believed, that the Messiah would not make his appearance, until their condition, as a people, had become utterly hopeless,—finding them destitute of kings and princes. The near approach of his advent, they said, would be announced by extraordinary signs, both in heaven and on the earth. The Romans would exercise universal dominion,—subjecting all nations to the hard yoke of their bondage.†

\* The Zohar is a cabalistic commentary on the Pentateuch. See Buxtorf, *De Abbrev. Hebr.*; also *Bibl. Repos.*, Oct., 1839, p. 14.

† By these Romans the modern Jews generally understood Christians.

The coming of the Messiah was, further, to be accompanied with terrific phenomena in nature,—and by sore judgments, from which the heathen and all the enemies of Israel would experience great sufferings, and by which, in part, they would be extirpated.

What ideas the Jews had of their Messiah, beyond regarding him as a mere temporal prince, it may not be so easy to ascertain. According to the opinion of many of the ancient Jews, at least, he had had an existence before he was born. That he was a divine power, or an emanation of the Deity, may not have been so generally supposed. The seventy probably entertained this view of his character, says Corrodi, if we may judge from the manner in which they have rendered, Ps. 110: 3. *Μετά σου ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς δόξαμεώς σου; ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφορίου ἐγέννησά σε;*\* a different pointing from that of our present Hebrew Bibles, and a passage to which the early Christians, who had the Bible only in the Greek translation, always appealed in proof of the eternal generation of the Son of God.† Some of our best English scholars have maintained, that there are many passages of the Chaldee paraphrasts, which could have been derived only from the remains of the expositions and doctrines delivered by the prophets. They have many things concerning the *Word of God*, by whom the universe was created, which admirably confirm the declarations of St. John respecting the *Λόγος*, and prove, that, in so designating the Messiah or Son of God, the evangelist employed a name already in familiar use among the Jews, as received from their ancestors, though not perfectly understood by all among them. Philo, also, frequently alludes to the *Word of God*, every where ascribing to this Word personal powers and operations; and he denominates him *Λέγωντες Θεός*.‡

Respecting the miraculous conception of the Messiah, there is nothing to be found, as we are told, in the writings of the Rabbis, which can be relied on with positive certainty.

The doctrine, that the Messiah was to make a free-will offering, or an expiatory sacrifice for sin, was probably more generally known among the Jews, than many will consent to believe. Some of the Jews, as Jonathan in the Targum on

\* Septuagint, 109: 3.

† The Jews always interpreted this Psalm, of their Messiah.

‡ Smith's Script. Test., 3d ed., vol. I, p. 548.

the prophets, and the Rabbis, in the tractate Sanhedrim, have interpreted the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah in this way. That the modern Jews are familiar with the idea of propitiation, is well known,—the stated confession made by them, in offering up the victim in sacrifice, concluding with these words, “Let this victim be my expiation;” and if they deviate from their ancestors, in the views they held as to the office of their Messiah in this respect, it probably arises from the fear they have of coinciding with Christians.\* Some of the Rabbis go so far as to say, that he entered into an agreement with God to suffer for the sins of his people, and raise them again from the dead, blessing them with a life of happiness in the future age; and that God would lay on him the sins of his people and make him a sacrifice for them. Indeed, it would seem, that the views of the more intelligent Jews before the time of our Saviour, respecting the office of their Messiah, in this respect, differed little or nothing from those of orthodox Christians of the present day; though it may readily be admitted, that the ideas of the greater part of them were of a very low, grovelling and earthly character. In general terms, the more pious and elevated among them felt it was expedient that one man should die for the nation, to save it from destruction.

Some of the Jews, who could not understand how the Messiah should be described by the prophets,—sometimes as a king, and at others, as an inferior personage, lowly and despised,—invented the doctrine of a two-fold Messiah,—one, the son of David, and the other, the son of Joseph, or the offspring of Ephraim, in order to reconcile these different accounts. This fiction is a very ancient one, and often to be found in the rabbinical writings. In respect to this second Messiah, the Jews are known, at least some of them, to have entertained the opinion, that he also would die for the sins of his people.†

As to the changes that should succeed the advent of the Messiah, there seem to have been various opinions among the Jews; mostly such, however, as might be anticipated from a literal interpretation of the prophecies, combined with strong secularizing tendencies. Rabbi Isaac

\* See Corrodi, I, p. 237; Magee on Atonement and Sacrifice, vol. I, p. 191. Ed. N. Y. 1839.

† Corrodi, I, p. 301; Smith's Scrip. Test., vol. I, p. 435.



Ben Abraham, a modern apologist for Judaism, has presented us with their general views, as follows.\*

In the times of the Messiah, there will be but one kingdom and one king, even the true Messiah himself, Dan. 2: 44. There will be but one religion and one law in the world, namely, that of the Israelites, Isa. 66: 17, 23. Zach. 8: 20—23. Idolatry and all its concomitants will be banished from the earth, and blotted out of remembrance, Zech. 13: 2, seq. There will be no more sin, or any kind of immorality especially among the Israelites, Deut. 30: 6. Zeph. 3: 13. Ez. 36: 25, 39. 37: 21, 39. After the wars of Gog and Magog are ended, there will be peace over all the earth, Isa. 2: 4. Ez. ch. 39. Hos. 2: 18. Zech. 9: 10. The beasts of the earth, both wild and tame, will no longer devour or injure one another, Isa. 11: 6. There will be no disappointment, adversity, or complaining, in all the land of Israel, Isa. 65: 17, seq. The Shekinah will also return again to Israel, and dwell with them, as it formerly did, imparting to them all manner of prophetical gifts, etc. Ez. 37: 26, seq. 39: 29.

The same author, in drawing out and illustrating his views with greater minuteness, adds several other particulars, as follows: In the times of the Messiah, the ten tribes will be collected together, and united with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, yielding obedience to the same king, of the seed of David, Ez. 37: 15, seq. The Mount of Olives will be divided into two parts, Zech. 14: 4, seq. The waters of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Red Sea, will be dried up, to make a highway for the return of the ten tribes, Isa. 11: 10, seq. A fountain of living water will spring up in the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and flow forth in two branches,—the one running into the Dead Sea, and the other into the Mediterranean,—fertile trees growing along the banks and bringing forth fruit every month, etc. Ez. 47: 1, seq. Zech. 14: 8. Ten men shall take hold, out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, we will go with you; for we have heard that God is with you, Zech. 8: 23. All the remnant of the heathen nations that is left, shall go up to Jerusalem, from year to year, to bow before the Lord, and keep the feast of

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\* *Chissun Emuna, sive Munimek Fidei, cum Versione Wagenseilii.* See Corrodi, I, p. 31. *Wagenseilii Tela Ignea Satanae.*

tabernacles, Zech. 14: 16. All this same remnant shall come up to Jerusalem to worship before the Lord, on the Sabbaths and the new moons, Isa. 66: 23. The prophet Elias will make his appearance, Mal. 3: 1. The temple will be rebuilt and restored to its ancient worship and splendor, according to the prophet Ezekiel. Then will come the resurrection of the dead, Deut. 32: 39. Isa. 26: 19. Dan. 12: 2, etc.

We must not stop, however, with what Rabbi Isaac Ben Abraham tells us on this subject. We must go back to what the more ancient Jews tell us themselves. Some of them, then,\* as it clearly appears, believed that Messiah, the son of Joseph, or, as he is otherwise called, the son of Ephraim, would come, delivering his nation from the tyranny of the Roman power, laying Rome itself in ashes, and putting an end both to the nation and the kingdom; and that, after this victory, there would be a flocking of the Israelites, in great multitudes, from all parts to the Messiah. It soon appears, however, that they have need of a new Messiah in order to complete their deliverance. Scarcely have they obtained tranquillity, before they are attacked by new enemies. The Romans, or, according to the modern Jews, the Christians, will again revive and fall upon them with combined power. Even the Targum of Jonathan on Isa. 11: 4, speaks of a wicked Armillus,† who would destroy the Messiah with the breath of his mouth. This name, however, is probably an interpolation; for we find nothing of Armillus in the ancient books of the Jews. He is a character of modern invention, the last and most dangerous adversary the Jews are ever to have, who should succeed Gog and Magog, in carrying on war against them, and about whom they have the most wonderful stories to relate. In short, he is nothing more or less than the Messiah of Christians, or, as others say, he whom the Christians denominate Antichrist. According to some of the Jews, Gog, of whom Ezekiel speaks, as also this Armillus, will, at the same time, oppress the Israelites, compelling them to flee for safety to desert places, until they are purified from all ungodly persons. The ancient Jews speak only of Gog, regarding the attack they are to receive

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\* Corrodi, I, 304, seq.

† אַרְמִילִיּוֹס See the article in Buxtorf's Lexicon, Chald. Talm. et Rab.

from him, as the last and the greatest affliction their people are ever to experience.

While the Israelites are in this situation, the second Messiah, the son of David, will come. He will fill the disheartened nation with courage, and raise the slain Messiah, the son of Joseph or Ephraim, to life again. The world, however, is still full of the enemies of God and Israel; and to conquer them is no easy matter. Scarcely will the Israelites have obtained a breathing spell, ere they will find themselves again attacked. Who these enemies are, and how the attack will be arranged, is not so well made out. According to the ancients, it is Gog; according to the moderns, it is Armillus and Christians; according to others, it is both united.

As to the results of this conflict, it is pretty well agreed, that Jerusalem will again be captured, the siege of which is thought to be referred to in the eighth chapter of Zechariah. These last enemies of the Jews will make the region around Jerusalem a field of the most fearful contest that history has ever recorded. According to some, they will in the end destroy one another; according to others, God will destroy them by earthquake, by fire and brimstone from heaven, and by pestilence, while the Jews are permitted to complete the vengeance. There are others, however, who believe, that these enemies will be destroyed by God alone, without the intervention of the Jews.

Directly after the advent of the king Messiah, according to some, there comes the resurrection of the dead. There are others, however, who suppose, that the world will be wholly laid waste by the dreadful devastations of the last conflict of the enemies of Israel, and the terrible means which God adopts for their destruction,—as earthquakes, storms of fire, and of hail; and that then the earth will be renewed by almighty power.

Who this Gog and Magog are, neither the ancient nor the modern Jews are able to determine. The result of the whole, however, will be most advantageous for the Jews. All the nations who have oppressed them will be extirpated; and all others will be brought into perfect subjection to their sway,—rendering the most servile obedience to the Messiah, and overwhelming his people with presents. The Jews will, at the same time, obtain great treasures in their hands; as for

instance, a treasure which lies buried in Egypt, and all that is found in the sea, and under the earth,—to say nothing of what they will procure from their enemies. The ten tribes, also, as well as all the Jews dispersed over the world, will gradually be collected together in the land of Canaan. Their return to the promised land will be accompanied with great honor and triumph, all people recognizing their superiority as the favorites of Heaven, delighting to help them onward, and rendering them all manner of service.

As to the length of time that will elapse, between the first coming of the Messiah and the ultimate renewal of the world, there is a great variety of opinions among the Jews. According to the tradition of the house of Elias, as we have already seen, it will be two thousand years; according to the discoveries of Rabbi Chanan, the world is to stand 4291 years. Then wars will arise, and various calamities among the inhabitants of the earth; and after seven thousand years, God will renew the world. This, of course, varies but little from the tradition of the house of Elias. Those who call the last rest of the world a great Sabbath, are obliged to make the seventh day, or chiliad, constitute the kingdom of the Messiah. To this class belong Rabbi Simeon and others. In the tractate Sanhedrin, there is a passage which presents eight different opinions on this subject. The first makes it forty years; the second, seventy; the third, three generations; the fourth, four hundred years; the fifth, three hundred and sixty-five, and so on. Other opinions make the days of the Messiah,—one, six hundred years; a second, a thousand; a third, several thousand, etc. These are the opinions of Jews who lived just before the time of Christ, or, at the latest, in the first and second centuries.

Of the paradise of the Jews, something has already been said. Here, however, is the place to add a word or two more, on the subject. When God has renewed the world, and the days of tranquillity and repose under the Messiah have fully arrived, all distinction between this blissful abode and the new earth will entirely cease, and one will be merged into the other. The souls of the deceased righteous will then find themselves for ever united with their king, in the greatest glory, and all manner of pleasures. The ungodly will be permitted to come to the door of paradise and look in upon them, and behold them in all their happiness and



glorious attire ; but all entrance into the place will, to them, be for ever prohibited.

As soon as the Messiah has succeeded in bringing the Jews into a quiet state, and not an enemy is left any longer to molest them, or to excite their revenge, he will prepare for them a splendid feast, such as no prince has ever given.\* Their accounts on this subject are the sheerest follies that ever emanated from the human brain.

Respecting the resurrection of the dead, it is uncertain as to how much knowledge there was extant among the fathers of the Jewish church. The strong probability is, that they knew far more about it than is often supposed. Job apparently alludes to it. David, at least, seems to have been acquainted with it, and Isaiah, too, and Daniel, as well as the Maccabees. Unquestionably, this doctrine was well known among the Jews at the time of the Babylonish captivity. Manasseh Ben Israel, who lived in the 17th century, a Jewish Rabbi, as also a classical scholar, and well read in the fathers of the church, has treated of this doctrine at large, and collected together the various opinions of his nation on the subject.† According to this author, the resurrection of the dead will not take place until after the world has been renewed, and, of course, not until after those days of the Messiah which elapse between his advent and this point of time. He admits, however, that many are of the opinion that it will precede this time, which is placed at a thousand four hundred and seventy or forty years ; and confesses this opinion to be the most prevalent. Manasseh further maintains, that there will be only one resurrection of the dead ; while some, on the other hand, make Elias to arise,—and others, also many of the saints, with him, before the rest of mankind. Some have also said, that the righteous should rise before the wicked. According to most of the Jews, not all the dead will be raised at any rate,—many of them guilty of lighter offences, having already suffered enough in their bodies to compensate for their sins, so that it is unnecessary to raise them from the dead, for the sake of greater punishment. Otherwise, all will be raised. At least, so the Talmudists hold. Some of the ancient Jews, however,

\* Corrodi, I, p. 329, seq. Buxtorf's Lexicon, Chal. Talm. et Rab. sub voc. *יִיךְ*, et *לִיךְ*; pp. 347, 950, 1128.

† Corrodi, I, p. 349. M. B. Israel was born 1604, and died 1660.

especially some of their learned men, of the middle ages, as we are told, held that none of the wicked would be raised from the dead; and some, that none of any nation but the Jews would obtain a resurrection.

The wicked, when they have been raised, will be plunged into hell, and there subjected to eternal pain; or else God will, as others say, impart to the sun an unusual heat, to torment them; while those who were only moderately wicked, if they are not reformed by what they undergo, will be tormented for twelve months in hell, or by the heat of the sun, and at length annihilated. This opinion they support by referring to Mal. 4: 1.

Among the pious, as some say, will be reckoned those heathen who befriended the Israelites during their captivity and showed them favor. The resurrection will be ushered in with the sound of God's great trumpet, blown seven times. It would carry us too far, to exhibit their views as to the nature of the bodies of people after their resurrection from the dead. Adam will have the same body he had in Paradise. Those raised will eat, drink, sleep, marry, have occupations, etc.

As to the world, after it has been renewed, the Jews have many things to say. It will be freed from all impure air, and furnished with newly created stars. The sun will shine forty-nine times hotter than in the old world, with a heat calamitous to the wicked but beneficial to the good. The earth will be more productive than ever it was before. God will also build a new Jerusalem, with his own hands, either in the heavens, sending it down to the earth, or else on the earth itself,—a city which shall be in every respect of the most splendid description. Such is a brief and meagre outline of the views and expectations which prevailed among the Jews, before and at the time of Christ; or, in other words, such was their Chiliasm when our Saviour made his appearance. Every thing was gross and carnal. Of high spiritual ideas they were quite destitute. They had few or no thoughts that stretched beyond what was merely secular. They were looking, indeed, for a glorious prince, and a magnificent kingdom; in the mind of here and there an individual, there were also anticipations of something spiritual. In general, however, every thing was earthly; or, if there remained any

thing of the exalted, it was all mixed up with the low, the grovelling, and the sensual.

When the Saviour began to preach, he announced himself as the Messiah of the prophets. This was true ; and as such, he was welcomed by many a pious heart. He did not stop here, however. He furthermore declared, that he had come to establish a kingdom. This was also the truth. He had the establishment of a kingdom before him, a most glorious one too ; such an one as the world had never yet witnessed. As the Old Testament contained the beginnings of the New, so also did this New, or, in other words, what the Saviour published respecting Christianity, contain in itself the germ or buddings of a higher order of things in the world, to be brought about through its instrumentality.\* The declarations of the Saviour on the subject were not indeed very clear and definite at first,—enough so for faith, but for nothing beyond. Probably he intended, in the outset, only to engender this single principle in the minds of those whom he addressed. By degrees he would enlarge his explanations of the matter, according as they could bear it, opening to them the spiritual nature of this kingdom, and gradually drawing them off from what was gross to the more exalted and refined. Accordingly we soon find him giving out, in the clearest and most definite language, that his kingdom was not such an one as the Jewish nation were commonly expecting,—of this world,—but, on the other hand, a purely spiritual kingdom, having its commencement, indeed, in this life, but to be fully realized in all its glory only in the world to come. With his more immediate followers, those whom he had chosen to be his successors in the divine office of teaching, he took especial pains, guarding them in every respect against the corrupt notions with which they were surrounded, and which he constantly and severely reprov'd. What labor it cost him to bring them off from their old Jewish anticipations, and raise them to the true spiritual conception, there is no need of attempting to portray, for it lies all along through the Gospels. Even after his resurrection from the dead, they asked him if he were not then about to restore the kingdom to Israel. When he left them for heaven, they had not been entirely reformed of this error. It was the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of

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\* Neander's *Kirchengesch.*, III, 725.

Pentecost, that, for the first time, broke all the bands of their grovelling prejudices and carnal inclinations asunder, on this point, and brought them fully out into the clear atmosphere and broad noonday of the real kingdom of God, which the Saviour had had before him. From that time onward we hear no more about an earthly kingdom. Every thing is spiritual and exalted, just as it was with their Lord and Master before them. They, too, declared in the most explicit terms, that this kingdom could be enjoyed, in all its fulness, only in a future state; and always, in times of discouragement, we find them seeking consolation from the thought, that their labors would soon be over, and they themselves taken home to glory, with their Lord, in that house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. All their instructions, as well as those of the Saviour,—every thing that they either taught or practised, was intended to show the fallacy of the gross ideas prevailing among the Jews, and in a manner also among the Gentiles, respecting the Messiah and his kingdom, and raise them up to spirituality. That this would cost time and labor, as well as the influences of the Holy Spirit, need not be said. The example of the disciples themselves is enough to prove it. With many they were unquestionably successful. The more intelligent, in particular, on becoming regenerated, would rise, in a measure, above all these gross conceptions.

This, however, would not hold back many young converts from continuing to indulge the expectation of a splendid return of their Messiah to the world, in order to set up a kingdom in it, and from interpreting every part of the Bible so as to favor this view. The Jewish Christians, in particular, would be likely to cherish this idea, blending with it all the notions they found among the Gentile converts respecting the coming of a golden age. Multitudes would find themselves drawn into this way of thinking, from their very incapacity to stretch their thoughts beyond this world. Hence, in the easiest and most natural way imaginable, Chiliasm became the prevailing belief among Christians of the first century. For such views they found ample support by their mode of interpreting the Old Testament, and especially in the apocryphal writings of the Jews, of which they were exceedingly fond, as also in the various Jewish traditions every where afloat. The language of the heathen poets and philosophers which looked this way, would also



be seized hold of, and bent to the same purpose. Nor can it be denied, that many things said by Christ and his apostles, either with reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, or to the great day of judgment, when Christ will really come again in person to our world, might be easily construed as bearing upon the same point. The apostle John possibly had reference to such a belief, in the phraseology he used in the 21st and 22d chapters of the Revelation. At least, what he has there said would readily be employed by Christians to confirm the views which they had drawn from other sources. When persecutions raged against them, as under Nero, they would cherish their chiliastic anticipations with so much the greater fondness. In particular, the contests which were continually carried on between Christianity and idolatry would greatly confirm them in the belief, that their Saviour was in reality soon to come in his own person, and decide it in their favor for ever.\*

In illustration of what has now been said, we might bring forward a great abundance of quotations. This, however, must be postponed to some future number.

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#### ARTICLE VIII.

##### EIGHT YEARS' RESIDENCE IN PERSIA.

*A Residence of eight years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians; with notices of the Muhammedans.* By Rev. JUSTIN PERKINS. With a Map and Plates. Andover. Allen, Morrill & Wardwell. 1843. pp. 512. 8vo.

THE *lineal* origin of the Nestorians is hidden in the mists of uncertainty. Their common tradition ascribes it to the Jews, and they themselves urge their resemblance to the

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\* "It is natural for man," said Patrick Henry, in one of his great speeches, "to indulge in the illusions of hope." Oppression, in almost every age of the world, has made its subjects look out for deliverance, and led to chiliastic anticipations. So, among the ancient Jews; so among the ancient heathen, and the early Christians. See a further illustration of this same position, in the fact, that many of the slaves have, for more than ten years past, been indulging in just such anticipations; and have many rude hymns in circulation among them, which they have composed in view of the coming of their Lord.

Jews in many respects, as proof of the same. Dr. Grant, in a work published not long since, maintains, that they are the lost ten tribes. But Dr. Robinson shows, that many of his arguments are worthless, because they prove too much. The customs on which Dr. Grant relies to substantiate his theory are not national but oriental; so that the argument is fitted to prove, that all the eastern nations are descendants of the ten tribes, as much as that the Nestorians are so. It is not improbable, that their ancestors may have been of those tribes; but, at this distance of time, the point is incapable of demonstration. They claim to have become Christians through the labors of Thomas, one of the twelve apostles. The name of the Nestorians is derived from Nestorius, who was born and educated in Syria, was a presbyter at Antioch, and was made bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 428. They call themselves, and are known among their neighbors, by the name *Syriánee*, and *Nusránee*, a word commonly used in Arabic to designate all Christians, and which is generally regarded as equivalent to Nazarene. Nestorius was accused of heresy, judged without being heard, deposed and excommunicated by the third general council at Ephesus, A. D. 431. One of the charges alleged against him was, that he refused to apply to the Virgin Mary the title *Θεοτόκος*, *mother of God*; giving it as his opinion, that the Virgin was rather to be called *Χριστοτόκος*, *mother of Christ*, since the Deity could neither be born nor die; and, of consequence, the Son of man only could derive his birth from an earthly parent. A second charge was, that in his theological belief, he invested Christ with *two persons*, as well as *two natures*. But he denied the justice of the charge. Probably, as Mosheim intimates, he seemed to make a distinction of two persons in Christ, in his zeal to avoid the error of Apollinaris, who confounded the two natures. Perhaps, a thorough and unprejudiced examination of the views of Nestorius would have shown him as orthodox as the council which condemned him. However that might be, his cause created extensive sympathy, and found many advocates. The party which favored Nestorius, the first Christian sect that was severed from the church, taking firm root in a central position, spread rapidly in all directions, and became powerful, especially in Persia. In this region, as well as in some others, to which it was then extended, it has remained permanent from that day to this.

Besides the Nestorians, to whose welfare Mr. Perkins and his coadjutors have devoted themselves, are the Jacobites and the Chaldeans, related to the others originally as fellow-countrymen. The Jacobites are Monophysite Christians, swerving to the opposite extreme, in an effort to escape the supposed error of Nestorius, and ascribing to Christ but one nature. To this class belong the Syrian Christians visited by Dr. Buchanan in Malabar, the number of whom is about 10,000. The Chaldeans were formerly of the same faith with the Nestorians; but have gone over to popery. The Jacobites and the Chaldeans are mostly found on the western side of the Koordish mountains, and in Mesopotamia. The title *Chaldeans* was given by the pope of Rome to those of the Nestorians who have become identified with the Catholic church; and the title *Syrian Christians*, to those of the Jacobites who have been persuaded to subject themselves to the papal rule. These titles have been assumed, however, in defiance both of modesty and propriety. The Nestorians are bitter enemies of the Jacobites. The latter now speak the Arabic language, and have thus broken almost the only remaining link of national union.

The Nestorians are found principally in the mountains of Koordistan and in Oroomiah. Those who inhabit the mountains and those who dwell on the plain are almost antipodes to each other. The former partake of the rude habits of the neighboring Koords,—bold, warlike, uncivilized. The latter have the urbanity of the most refined Persians. They call their brethren, the mountaineers, *wild men*. The mountaineers, however, have frequent occasion to visit the plain, where they cannot help imbibing a humanizing influence. The diffusive spirit of Christianity, as it becomes predominant in the more civilized portions of the people, who are intimate with the missionaries, will send forth its power by degrees among the mountain fastnesses, not only to benefit the Nestorians, but perhaps, also, to convert the savage Koords. The former will be a spiritual leaven in the neighborhoods where they dwell; so that by their means Christianity will, almost without effort, win among its trophies another nation, which, but for their geographical relation to these mountain Nestorians, would, doubtless, for a much longer period, remain inaccessible to the gospel. The Nestorians of the mountains are of the same faith with those in

the city of Oroomiah, and have a patriarch residing among them.

It is difficult to ascertain, with any definiteness, the number of the Nestorians. Mr. Perkins thinks the whole number may be 140,000; in Tiaree, the most populous of the mountain districts, 50,000; in all the other mountain districts, about 60,000; and between 30,000 and 40,000 in the province of Oroomiah. They are not to be regarded simply by themselves. Their own numbers are not a proper standard by which to estimate their importance. When it is considered, that, by means of a well-conducted mission to the Nestorians, it may be possible also to gain access to the minds of the Muhammedans, as this work abundantly proves, that nation, few as its numbers are, is of vast consequence. If the Nestorians should be indirectly the means of opening a door, wide and effectual, for the introduction of the gospel into Persia, they may become benefactors of the whole Muhammedan world. It will be a glorious attainment to break the spell of the crescent,—the greatest obstacle to the general diffusion of the gospel which now exists,—a most pernicious orb of darkness, to use the figure of a Persian poet, whose gloom is now shed so widely over the nations. Heaven may well keep jubilee, when such an event takes place. The journals of Mr. Perkins in this volume look more favorably towards such a consummation, than any publications which we have ever seen. What need of wisdom has the servant of God in such a field, that the first gleams of light and truth may not by any means be shut out, and the people be condemned to a tenfold thicker darkness! The work of missions may well be viewed as a work pre-eminently demanding humility, faith and prayer.

The language of the Nestorians is the modern Syriac; which, in fact, is nothing else than the ancient Syriac, corrupted by the influence and intermixture of Persian, Turkish and Koordish words. The ancient Syriac is used in their liturgy; and in that language they possessed and venerated the Scriptures, at the time when the mission was commenced. No attempts had hitherto been made among them to reduce the oral language to writing. And even in the ancient language, Messrs. Smith and Dwight found none but manuscript books among them. Besides the canonical Scriptures, the Nestorians have portions of the apocryphal



books, a work purporting to be the *Revelation of Paul*, several books of prayers, and other compositions to be used in the church-service, legends of saints, traditions, portions of the fathers, books of martyrs, comments on all parts of the Bible, proverbs, ponderous dictionaries, grammars, etc., and lastly, a small Romish legend, claiming to be an epistle that descended from heaven, at Rome, about A. D. 777, being engraved by the finger of God on a table of ice! It is entitled *The Epistle of the Sabbath*, and demands a reading every Sabbath; but its claims to such frequent perusal are little regarded. The circulation of books, however, is extremely limited. Being written with great labor, the copies of them are few in number. Mr. P. says, three, five or ten books are regarded as a liberal supply for a village, or even for a district. The gentlemen before alluded to found a very great destitution in this respect. The psalter, gospels and epistles, were in every church; but a copy of the whole Bible, scarcely any where. At Jamalava, the gospels and epistles were carried every night to the bishop's house, to secure them from being stolen.

But the ignorance of the people sufficiently accounts for the fewness of their books. Mr. P. says, "Not more than one in two hundred of the people,—in general, only the clergy,—could read, when we commenced our labors among them. A majority of the priesthood can merely chant their devotions in the ancient Syriac, without knowing the meaning. Even some of the *bishops* among the mountains, are in this predicament."

The manners of the Nestorians are purely oriental; yet evidently modified by their intercourse with their neighbors and oppressors, by the continued prevalence among them of the Christian faith, and by the early influence of Catholic confessors. We have gleaned from various parts of the volume a brief account of the customs of the people, both as a nation, and as Christians. By his free intercourse with the bishops and priests, Mr. P. had abundant opportunity to become acquainted with the latter; and his missionary work, leading him to cultivate the intimacy of the nation at large, has given him access also to the former.

The civil year of the Nestorians commences at the vernal equinox, and is ushered in by a festival of a week's continuance, called Noorose, which has come down from the

ancient Persians, and is a season of universal congratulation. Sir John Malcolm remarks, that the rulers of the several provinces offer presents to the king, and the king, in return, confers dresses of honor on all the chief nobles and officers of his government, who give similar marks of their regard to their servants and dependents. On the first day, which is the most important, all ranks appear in their newest apparel; they send presents of sweetmeats to each other; and every man kisses his friend on the auspicious morning of Noorose. The Nestorians use the era of the Seleucidæ, which commences B. C. 311. In Oroomiah, dwelling in the midst of Persians, their houses are of the same character with those of their neighbors. They are generally of brick, dried in the sun, and plastered over on the outside with a mixture of mud and cut straw. Within, the walls of those of the Persian nobles are plastered with the whitest gypsum, and the floor covered with the richest carpets. A few of the latter have also houses of *burnt* instead of *sun-dried* brick. As a substitute for the plastering of gypsum, hangings of cloth are sometimes used by the Nestorians for their houses and churches. The houses are partly of one, and partly of two stories, and the roofs are flat. The oven, in the villages, consists of a circular hole in the earth, coated with clay, which soon acquires the hardness of brick, upon the sides of which the bread is baked in long and thin cakes. These cakes often serve, like the trenchers in Virgil, as a substitute for plates. They are made two and a half or three feet long, a foot wide, and perhaps a twelfth of an inch thick. The Nestorians crave a blessing before eating, and give thanks at the close of their meal; performing both religious services in a sitting posture. It is common for Nestorian girls and women to labor in the fields during the summer. Mothers take their cradles, with their infants in them, upon their shoulders in the morning, and carry them to the distant field or vineyard. The child lies bound in the cradle all day, being visited by the mother who is at her work near by, a few times to nurse it; and at night the child is carried home in the same way. As in eastern countries which are without the gospel, the females are not allowed to eat with the males, but serve them first, and partake afterwards of what remains. The women are very fond of wearing jewels, beads, pieces of money, and other trinkets about their per-

sons, on their heads, and even in their noses. Wives are purchased among the Nestorians, as they were in the days of Jacob,—the prices varying from five to fifty, or one hundred dollars, according to the rank and charms of the person. This money is commonly spent in purchasing wedding-garments. And it is esteemed disreputable for the father to appropriate it to his private purposes. A kind of semi-wedding is held at the time of the betrothal, which commonly takes place months, or even years, before the consummation of the union; although the contract implied in this ceremony is not unfrequently violated. After wedding festivities have been continued two or three days, at the residence of each of the parties, the bride is conducted to the house of the bridegroom, who, as she approaches, gallantly throws at her from the roof, apples, or painted boiled eggs, as love-tokens. The marriage ceremony is very long, and is commonly held in the churches. It commences an hour before day, that the clergy and the guests, who must not taste of food on the day of the wedding till after the nuptial rites are performed, need not be overcome with faintness. The marriage service comprises a small volume. The bishop, Mar Yohannan, having witnessed a marriage ceremony at the house of an American clergyman, struck with the contrast, inquired, "Do you marry people on railroads too?" After the marriage, the bride becomes a member of the family of her husband's father, and is subject to his patriarchal supervision and control. The common age at which Nestorians marry is from thirteen to fifteen, of the female, and from fifteen to seventeen, of the male.

They manifest the ancient oriental depth of emotion in parting with their friends and in receiving them again. A father has all the authority in his own house, and the respect of his children, which characterised the times of the patriarchs. Mar Yohannan, though more than forty years old, and a bishop, would by no means leave Oroomiah on his excursion to this country, without first obtaining his father's permission. The orientals have a strong impression, that no enterprise will prosper, if undertaken without a father's sanction and a father's blessing.

They have some customs which are not merely oriental; but—more than this—which seem like relics of the apostolic age; the sweet fragrance of the piety and benevolence of the

early Christians, still breathing among their degenerate posterity. Their habit in respect to mutual salutations and good wishes is an example.

"When two persons meet, they mutually salute each other by one saying, 'Peace be with you,' and the other, 'with you also be peace.' When one enters the house of another, he says the same, 'Peace be with you,' and the other replies, 'your coming is welcome.' When a guest leaves a house, he says, 'May God grant you increase; may your days be prosperous;' and the other replies, 'May God be with you.'

"If you do a Nestorian a kindness, or wish him prosperity, he says in thanking you, 'May God give you the kingdom of heaven.' When one puts on a new garment, enters a new house, or purchases a new article, his friends congratulate him by saying, 'May God bless your garment to you; may God bless your house,' &c. The same kind of pious phraseology runs into all their business and intercourse. When one enters upon a piece of work, he repeats, 'If the Lord will, I shall accomplish it.' When a boy or a man begins to study a book, he writes upon the margin of the first page, 'By the strength of the Lord, I shall learn this book.' When a child commits the letters of his alphabet, as often as he repeats them through, he is taught to say at the close, 'Glory to Christ, our king;' and the copyist commences his volume by a rubric sentence, under an adorned margin on the first page, 'In the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write.'"

Mr. P. speaks of a beautiful exhibition of hospitality and kindness of heart, which belongs appropriately to this place.

"In the district of Oroomiah, where the Nestorians are so plentifully supplied with the means and comforts of living, they, as matter of calculation, lay in liberal store for their poor countrymen of Kurdistan, who, pinched with want among their own barren mountains, come down to the plain in large numbers, particularly in winter, to seek temporary subsistence on charity."

Still there is great need among them of a quickening, religious spirit. While there is much correctness in their creed, they are greatly wanting in a practical exemplification of it. Profaneness is a common sin, both among ecclesiastics and people. Intemperance is very prevalent. The Sabbath is regarded too much as a holiday, Lying is so universal, that it is a common saying, that "people in Persia lie, as long as they can find lies to tell; after which, they may, from accident or necessity, for once or twice speak the truth."

The Nestorians bury the dead as early as practicable after the decease. The grave is made four or five feet deep, and at the bottom an enclosure of the proper size is walled with



stone. After the coffin is deposited, flat stones are placed over the enclosure, and the crevices are filled with mortar. Thus every grave is a small tomb. They have prayers recited at the house, on the way to the grave, at the grave, and again at the house on their return. Their liturgy prescribes prayers to be said at the grave for the repose of the dead, three days after interment.

“Going to the grave and weeping there is even more common among the Muhammedans than among the native Christians, especially among the females. The great cemeteries around the city Oroomiah are thronged on some of their festival days, and more or less on other occasions; and present affecting scenes, not less in the thoughtless levity of the mass, than the dolorous lamentations of the few. I have frequently observed a circle of women sitting on the ground, around a grave, in a cold winter's day, and wailing most piteously over the dust of a departed friend ”

The Nestorians have some peculiar notions in matters of geography and astronomy. They supposed the new world, from which Mr. Perkins came, to be somewhere in the sky; and also, that it must be further off than the moon. For, as one of them remarked, “I have often seen the moon; but never, the new world.” In speaking one evening of the *milky way*, Mar Elias quoted the *melpanas*, or ancient teachers, who say, “At the time of the flood, we read that the windows of heaven were opened. That light streak is one of those windows, which has never again been closed up.”

They abound in fasts. They fast every Wednesday and Friday, twenty-five days before Christmas, fifteen days before the feast of St. Mary, three days before the feast of the cross, which occurs twelve days after Christmas, three days before the feast of St. John, three days before the feast of St. George; fifty days before Easter, and fifty days before Pentecost; also, three days after the prophet Jonah, during which they remain in the church from morning to night, weeping, praying and fasting. They always wash in some brook or spring immediately before worship, at the same time repeating in a whisper a part of Ps. 51, “Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity,” etc. They have great reverence for the Scriptures. They are their ultimate standard of appeal. Mr. P. says, “It is particularly gratifying to see the Nestorians cling to the Bible, in their controversy with Papists. They have able works, they say, in the

ancient Syriac, against Romanism ; but they prefer the word of God, which, as they often repeat, is the sword of the Spirit."

The Nestorians practise infant baptism, and also admit infants to the communion of the Lord's supper. Messrs. Smith and Dwight remark (Researches, Vol. II, p. 247), that Mar Yohannan "denied that they practise infant communion ; but would mention no particular age, when children are first admitted to the ordinance. They are sometimes allowed to come at five, but never at three years of age." Mr. Perkins, however, says (p. 455), "Children, from the age of three years, or younger, are allowed and encouraged to partake of the elements."

They have nine orders of the clergy, viz., the reader, sub-deacon, deacon, priest, arch-deacon, bishop, *matra poleeta*, *katoleeka* and *patriarca*. A person who hopes to reach the highest rank, must proceed through all the subordinate grades. This may be done, however, in a short time, two or three grades being passed through in a day. Ordination is conferred at a very early age ; and, as the preceding pages show, upon persons having very little spiritual qualification. Messrs. Smith and Dwight were assured by the priest of Khosrova, that the Nestorians sometimes ordain bishops only six years of age ; and a deacon, who served as their interpreter, affirmed, that he had seen them as young as thirteen. The same gentlemen (Vol. II, p. 245) met with a bishop only twenty years old, who had been ordained to the episcopate seven years. "An oath frequently slipped from his mouth in conversation." Mr. Perkins tells an amusing story of a boy under his instruction, eleven or twelve years old, who, on the day appointed for his ordination, ran away and hid himself, in order to escape the infliction of the ceremony.

The religious belief of the Nestorians agrees very nearly with that expressed in the Nicene creed. Their liturgy is read, as we have already stated, in the ancient Syriac ; an unknown tongue to the people at large. Through the influence of the American missionaries over the priests, however, not only is the epistle, as read by some of the bishops, afterwards translated into the language of the Nestorians, but the missionaries have even been persuaded many times to occupy the pulpits of the churches, and to preach the gospel to the people in the modern tongue.

The mission to the Nestorians was commenced in consequence of the favorable reports of the condition of that people, made to the American Board by Messrs. Smith and Dwight, who had been deputed to visit them. Mr. Perkins left Boston, Sept. 21, 1833, remained several months at Constantinople, for purposes of study, and reached Tabreez in Persia, in August, the following year. From this city, he journeyed to Oroomiah, surveyed the field of his future labor, obtained a teacher of the Nestorian language, and returned again to Tabreez. He took up his residence at length at Oroomiah, together with Mrs. Perkins, in Nov., 1835. The way seemed to be opened for him in the hearts of the people. Like some of the South Sea Islanders and the Karens, in their early missionary history, they were evidently a people prepared for the Lord. "About a mile and a half before reaching the village," says Mr. P., "the bishop came, *full gallop*, to meet us; and as we advanced farther, nearly all the inhabitants marched out in procession to welcome our arrival. Their repeated assurances of *welcome—welcome*,—were long and loud." "Were the whole world to be given them," they said, "their joy on that account could not equal that created by our coming." This is a single example of what occurred again and again, at various times and under diverse circumstances. We give a few more specimens. When the father of Mar Yohannan and several of his people were first introduced to Mr. P., the simultaneous acclamation was, "Welcome, most welcome; this is just what we have been hoping and praying for. The Lord has indeed heard and answered our prayers." When he was presented to the patriarch Elias, and had explained to him the object of his mission, the patriarch raised his eyes to heaven and exclaimed, "Thanks to God; this is what I have been praying for, and we so greatly need." In Dec., 1836, a letter was received from Mar Shimon, which says, "And furthermore, behold, our joy has been great, *very great*, on your account, from the day we heard of your entering Oroomiah for the purpose of opening schools, that work of benevolence in which you labor and toil from your love to the kingdom of Christ."

But, as may easily be inferred from what has been said, the Nestorians, considered as a Christian people, were in a sadly degraded condition. As to the church in Sardis, it

might be said to them, "thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." The labors of evangelical missionaries among them were demanded, not so much to rectify the main articles of their creed, as to breathe into them, through the Spirit, the breath of life. They were like the dry bones in Ezekiel's vision. A quickening spirit was needed to make them live. Of the meaning of regeneration, even their most intelligent ecclesiastics seemed to know little or nothing. Their views respecting it hardly extended beyond the rite of water baptism. At least they appeared to suppose, that this rite possessed some mysterious charm, that involved the agency of the Holy Spirit, so far as it is ever exerted. Education was at an ebb almost as low as vital religion. None but their ecclesiastics could read at all; and neither they nor their hearers could comprehend the meaning of their devotions, chanted in an unknown tongue. The commencement of missionary labors among them was just in time to strengthen the things that remained and were ready to die, and to save Christianity, as it existed among the Nestorians, from actual extinction.

But there was a simple-heartedness and docility among both priests and people, which opened the way for their spiritual and intellectual improvement, as soon as the facilities were brought to them. They perceived at once the superiority of western cultivation, and, like little children, willingly submitted to be led. "With the Nestorians," says Mr. P., "we have a broad field of common ground, in their acknowledged supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, and other peculiarities to which I have alluded, that exist among no other oriental Christians. Upon this common ground, the clergy of this people rejoice to take their stand, and lend us their hearty and efficient co-operation. And the most influential part of them being brought thus under our immediate influence,—ten or twelve of them are connected with our families,—they advance in intelligence and evangelical views and feelings, and keep pace with our missionary operations. And with their ecclesiastics, the people will of course move forward. Both ecclesiastics and people extend fellowship to us as brethren."

It was a happy providence, that the intercourse and influence of the mission began with the dignitaries of the church. Such obviously could not be the case in missions



generally. The heathen have no knowledge even of a nominal Christianity. The only common ground on which we can meet them is the depravity of human nature, and the need of substantial religious hopes. The course to be pursued seemed divinely directed. Nothing was to be done but to enter into the door which God had opened; to go in and possess the land, whose broad expanse of white harvests invited the hand of the reaper. The school was commenced Jan. 18, 1836, and seven boys from the city attended. On the following day, seventeen scholars from abroad joined them, among whom were three deacons and one priest. A female boarding-school was commenced in March, 1838. Several girls, however, had already been accustomed to attend the village schools in connection with the boys; and the idea of educating females, once so strange to the Nestorians, became, as might have been expected, a favorite one. We have not space to detail the progress of missionary work among the Nestorians. It is sufficient to state, in brief, that the priests and deacons have been highly useful as teachers in the schools of the mission, and the more intelligent of them are translators. They have also entered into the work of the spiritual instruction of their people; and by serious homilies in the presence of their congregations, they have exerted a favorable influence on the advancement of evangelical religion, and are producing a conviction of the importance of personal piety among the population. And the hope is cherished, that with some of them the darkness of their native unregeneracy has passed away, and the true light now shineth. Some instances have occurred, in which the interest awakened among the people has been highly encouraging. The following extract, dated March 8, 1841, is a specimen of cases of this character.

“The church was so crowded at Ardishái, that the people were obliged to stand as closely as possible together; and as it was communion season, the services were very long,—nearly three hours, including our meeting,—but the great congregation manifested not the least impatience to the close. And every morning and evening during the week, as priest Yohannan informed me, almost as many now assemble to listen to the good word of the Lord. The general attention to the subject of religion there, is such as to arrest the observation of the people themselves, who say to each other, that

their oldest men have never before witnessed a time of so much interest."

We give, in the words of the author, a general summary of the operations of the mission.

"The state and prospects of our mission to the Nestorians are increasingly encouraging. We have multiplied village schools, from time to time, as teachers have become qualified in our seminary, to the utmost extent of our pecuniary means. These schools are now about twenty in number, besides the seminary and female boarding-school, all of which have from their commencement been in a flourishing condition. They contain about five hundred scholars; and it is delightful to mark the progress of these scholars, where a few years ago no schools existed; to see them gradually rise, in the brief course of even the imperfect education which we are able to furnish them, from the rude, ignorant, squalid children first collected, up to the comparatively intelligent young men, like plants grown up in their youth, and daughters, as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace; and yet more delightful to mark their rapid progress in religious knowledge, their increased attention to eternal things, and the hopeful conversion of here and there one from the power and bondage of sin, to the love and service of the living God. Our educational efforts hold out the cheering prospect, in connection with our other labors, of furnishing the Nestorians with an intelligent and pious ministry; and with their aid, of gradually raising the whole mass to an intelligent and virtuous people.

"It is but a little more than two years, since the arrival of our press and the commencement of printing among the Nestorians. \* \* \* In connection with my other labors, I have commonly spent a part of each day in the work of translation, and have thus been enabled to complete a version of the New Testament and some smaller works for our schools. Parts of the New Testament are already printed, and we hope ere-long to have the whole in free circulation, in our schools and among the people. Several tracts, prepared by different members of our mission, are also dropping from the press as the rain, and their speech distilling as the dew. During my visit in the United States, I have superintended the preparation of models for a new font of Syriac type, which Mr. Hallock is now successfully engaged in casting, and which cannot fail greatly to facilitate our printing operations.

"But the most interesting department of our labors is, our preaching the gospel in the Nestorian churches, as already noticed. The scene is deeply interesting as we take our places in those plain, venerable churches, that point us back so directly to early times, perhaps to apostolic labors—a Nestorian bishop standing on one hand, and a priest on the other, and a congregation seated upon their coarse mats, or on the simple earth-floor, crowded shoulder to shoulder, and listening to the words of life, as they fall from the speaker's lips, with an eagerness of countenance, that would almost loose the tongues of those of our mission, who had not yet learned their language, and inspire them with the power of utterance. It is always an unspeakable privilege to preach the gospel of salvation; but peculiarly so in such circumstances. Never have I addressed audiences elsewhere, respecting which it might apparently with so much truth be said, that they received the word with gladness.

"Some of the native clergy, who have been a considerable time under the influence of our mission, are becoming themselves very able and faithful preachers of the gospel. Often have I heard them address their people, with a solemnity and power, which we associate with the preaching of apostles. The earnest, moving voice of priests Abraham, Dunka and Yohannan, who are in middle life, and the less pungent, but affectingly serious and tremulous tones of the venerable Mar Elias, urging their people to repentance and salvation, are so vivid in my recollection, as to seem often to be still sounding in my ears. They, and a few others of the clergy, go out not only in company with the missionaries, but alone also, and address other congregations on the Sabbath.

"The attendance on our preaching, during the winter and spring previous to my leaving the field, was full; and a deep solemnity pervaded the assemblies. Indeed, an unwonted interest on the subject of religion appeared to be awakened and extending itself throughout the whole province of Oroomiah. The indications that the Holy Spirit was verily in the midst of us and around us, were clear, and often very impressive,—not in the thunder, nor the whirlwind, nor the earthquake; but in the still, small voice, that convinced many of their sins and their need of a Saviour, and led some to Christ, to the saving of their souls.

"Such was the state of our mission, when I reluctantly left the field, more than a year ago, on account of the impaired health of Mrs. Perkins. Many of the nominal Christians, who, when I went among them about nine years since, found such ready apologies for their sins and immoralities in their depressed political condition, now as readily turn the scale against themselves, recognizing in the rigor of their bondage, the hand of a kind heavenly Father, scourging them for their backslidings, and seeking to reclaim and save them. The church that was dead, while it had a name to live, is beginning to awake, and arise into life. The great valley which was full of bones, very many and dry, is beginning to feel the quickening power of the breath of Jehovah. Bone is coming to its bone,—and the ghastly, lifeless skeleton begins to be invested with flesh, with spiritual comeliness and vitality. In a word, the Lord is moving, through the agency of our mission, and by the influence of his Spirit, upon the entire body of the Nestorians of Oroomiah, a population of between thirty and forty thousand, waking them to thought and reflection; and a work, which may in a certain and interesting sense, be called a revival of religion, still and gradual, but deep and general, is in progress among them, which promises to make them again a people whose God is the Lord. A verdant oasis has thus suddenly sprung up around us in the midst of that great moral wilderness, as yet indeed small, but bidding fair rapidly to extend, until it shall cause the whole mighty desert to bud and blossom as the rose!"

The volume contains many items of encouragement in reference to the Muhammedan population of Persia. The members of the mission have been treated with great consideration by the highest dignitaries of the state. Their labors, in behalf of the cultivation of the Muhammedan population, have been eagerly sought for. It has thus been demonstrated, that the way is open for *indirect* missionary



labor among the Muhammedans, at least, in the department of instruction. Capt. Todd, an English officer, states, that applications for Persian New Testaments on the part of the Muhammedans in Teheran are not unfrequent. Mr. P. remarks, that "multitudes in Persia are turning with abhorrence from the religion of the prophet, and are ready to give a hearing to any system that is offered in its stead. And many of the youthful followers of the false prophet are ready and desirous to put themselves immediately under our instruction." Mr. Haas, the German missionary, had a flourishing Muhammedan school; and his labors had arrested the attention and elicited the approbation of multitudes of the higher classes. A small geography which he prepared, reached the king, who studied it attentively, manifested a deep interest in it, and directed his Meerza to request Mr. Haas to come and open a school at Teheran. And as a farther token of the royal approbation of his efforts in healing the sick, as well as in giving instruction, the king conferred on Mr. H. an order of Persian knighthood. The zeal of the Persians, in regard to their places of worship, is waning; and our author remarks, "There are many indications,—and not the least their [the Persians'] own prediction and universal apprehension,—that the whole fabric of Muhammedism is destined, ere-long, to fall."

There are several interesting topics connected with the subject of this work, of which we had designed to speak. But our space forbids.

Mr. P., in his visit to his native land, was accompanied by Mar Yohannan, the Nestorian bishop, who has greatly assisted him in his labors at Oroomiah, and who has become known in many of the cities and principal villages in this country. We are gratified with this memorial of a visit which, we trust, will be productive of extensive benefit to the cause of missions. The work has impressed us with the conviction, that the author is possessed of eminent qualifications for the interesting and self-denying enterprise to which he has devoted his life.

We have a few remarks in reference to the book itself. It is finely printed, on excellent paper, and illustrated with twenty-seven engravings. The best are, Mar Yohannan and the king of Persia. Most of the others are colored lithographs, designed to illustrate Nestorian, Koordish and



Persian costume and appearance. While the work lies open to criticism, in respect to its *structure*, the circumstances under which it was prepared are sufficient to mitigate severity, and lead us to praise what is excellent, rather than to complain of what is faulty. We may, however, be permitted to say, that while the work is entitled a "Residence in Persia, among the Nestorians," etc., the author does not reach his destination as a resident among the Nestorians, till he has brought us to page 228, and he leaves it fifty-two pages before the close; so that less than half the volume corresponds to its title. Though the preparatory portions of the book are interesting,—many of them valuable and instructive,—we have felt, that there is a disproportionate space devoted to them. Much of what is contained in the history of the journey from Boston to Oroomiah would serve as an interesting and useful guide-book to travellers; but the information embraced in it requires to be collected and arranged for the use of the student of geography, history or missions. Friendship loves to hear of every incident, however minute, and to note the time and place of its occurrence. Though the incident has been described a thousand times before, love craves a fresh description; because it has now become invested with new interest. The public culls out what is new, or what can be made to conduce to the general good, and passes over the rest. Portions of the work of Mr. P. are the fruits of diligent toil and careful investigation. But other portions are a simple statement of the events of successive days, apparently just as they were, from time to time, recorded. This method gives, indeed, the most liveliness to a narration; but it imposes likewise a heavy task on the reader, who would retain a distinct view of the history or progress of the mission. Mr. P. writes in a straight-forward, graphic, not inelegant style, neither attracting notice by an effort to be beautiful, nor at any time offending by inaccuracies of taste, or defects in the use of language. We feel that his heart is in the work. We hail the volume as a valuable addition to the missionary literature of Christendom; a fresh trophy of pious enterprise, set up in the church for the glory of God.

EDITOR.

## ARTICLE IX.

## STRENGTH OF PIETY.

“Strong in the Lord.”

THAT which the church most needs at the present crisis, is a stronger piety. We have many members, but too little grace. We have the forms of life; but an observer, in many instances, could scarcely decide whether our life itself were not death. Our religion is the same, in name, with that of the early Christians; but it lacks the radiant beauty, the firm purpose, the high endeavor, the vigilant activity, which gave to them and to the early church their character. Believers at present need, as it were, a fresh conversion. We need to be espoused again, as a chaste virgin, to Christ. We need a renewed baptism of the Holy Ghost. The heavenly unction of apostolic men, which, we sometimes fear, has almost died out from the church, needs to be communicated again, by a fresh anointing from on high. We forget not the honorable exceptions which move about among us, to use the language of Brainerd, “like flames of fire;” but we speak of the multitude of those who have put on Christ by an open profession. An influence and power is evidently ascribed to piety in the New Testament, which modern piety, except in a few rare instances, does not seem to possess. We profess to live in Christ, and we trust that Christ lives in us. But though we be branches of the living vine, how little are we conscious of the life that flows from the root, pouring its thrilling life into branch, and twig, and foliage! If our bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost, and we have entered into that near union with Christ which his words to his disciples imply,—“Ye in me, and I in you,”—there should not be such diversity between the container and the contained,—between the sanctity of the temple, and the infinite tenant who is enshrined in it. Such mutual distance, such separate living, as if we were two, and not one, should not be suffered to exist. We should be as if Christ were the very principle of our spiritual being,—as if that infinite, efficient agent were the moving spring of our souls; as if his were the breath breathing in us; his the life that animates us; his the soul that feels in us;

his the fervor that pleads in us ; his the holiness that is reflected from us. If we have connection with a living fountain, as there is life in the source, so there should be life in the streams. That which flows out from a living source should be imbued with the life of its origin,—light answering to light, strength responding to strength, life to life, grace to grace, holiness to holiness.

We believe the piety enjoined and described in the New Testament, and exemplified by the noble men whose biography is there recorded, was of a stronger stamp, than that which is seen day by day in the walks of common life. We think we see in it an elevation above that which prevails even in the ranks of those, in whom piety ought to shine forth in its pure, bright reality, as the patterns of their fellow-men ; as those whose place calls upon them to be ensamples to the saints. Neither forms, nor eloquence, nor a sound creed, nor an intellectual conviction of truth stood in them, or can stand in us, as a substitute for this hidden, yet most visible life. The piety which the apostles and early saints had is that which modern believers need. The gospel, proclaimed and exemplified by us, lacks the overwhelming efficiency which it enjoyed in its primitive history, in part, at least, because the piety of professors is so much weaker now than it was then. The principles of the Christian faith must grasp us with a strong hold. The renovating power of the gospel must be felt, working mightily at the seat of life, and exerting its efficient, pervasive, constraining energy on every habit, and on the minutest development of the life.

To what purpose is it that we are Christians, so far as the honor of Christ is concerned, if our Christianity is not of this living, energetic character ? To what purpose is it that we are alive from the dead, if our life is but death ? Why should we be epistles, known and read of all men, if we be not living epistles—epistles, breathing life—epistles, concerning the life of godliness ?

It is because our piety is not of this strong stamp, that we are so inefficient at the throne of grace. Were the individual members of the sacramental host mighty in holiness, heaven would seem to gather its influences and its unction around us, as soon as we should kneel down or stand up to pray. We should be like Moses on the mount, as it were alone with God ; and whether in secret or with others, so strong and

successful would be our pleas, that God would condescend to say to us, as to him, "I have pardoned *according to thy word.*" We complain of the deficiency of our faith. But the deficiency under which we are withered, is often of a larger extent. It is the deficiency of a strong and living piety. There is a life and power of godliness. And it is that life and power, which our prayers demand, to make them the holy breathings of a devout soul,—to associate with them a divine helper,—to teach us to pray, as men who are full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. How necessary it is, that we, who have so much need of prayer, should know how to pray! How important, that we should be such persons that we can bow down, assured of success, at the altar of prayer!

Piety of this stronger stamp would yield us the true divine enjoyment which religion promises. We seem to have more to do with the negative view of religion, than with the positive. We hope on account of what we are not, more than on account of what we are. We have but a small measure of that thrilling joy, which religion is capable of yielding. We talk and think of freedom from condemnation, more than of exultation in Christ. The fruit of the apostolical aspiration,—“That ye may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the length, and breadth, and depth, and height of the love of God, and may know that love which passeth knowledge, and be filled with all the fulness of God,”—does not enter, at the present day, into the system of Christian experiences. It treads on ground too high. It moves in an atmosphere too rare for our gross, earthward organs. We admire it, but we do not attain to it. We scarcely deem it attainable. The soul soars, as with a broken pinion. The eagle has lost the power of gazing on the sun. The dark earth is more congenial with the weak eye, than the intense glow of the solar brightness. It is man that acts in us,—it is man that looks upward or downward. We feel not the motions of an indwelling Christ. But “the fruit of the Spirit is joy.” A weak religion may not bring joy. But a strong piety will do it. A weak, sickly child may be the victim of interminable melancholy. But let its life have buoyancy and strength, and the exuberant joy of the young heart will overflow. What a lesson to our faint and weak religion is the apostle’s expression,—“Strong in the Lord and in the power of his might!”



It is by this mighty indwelling of the Holy Ghost, that God is to be glorified by us—the scoffer, convinced—the church, honored—the power of prayer, tested—the nature and worth of religion, understood—and the world, converted. This will kindle the flame of missionary ardor, bring innumerable and most willing guests to Zion's solemn feasts, open the treasures of our gold and silver, and produce universal consecration of all that we have to the Lord. Devoutly should we pray, therefore, for an increase of piety; not for the excitement of animal susceptibilities—not for awakened sympathies—not for an excess of emotion; but for strength of the Christian principle; for the deeper and more efficient indwelling of the Holy Ghost.

EDITOR.

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## ARTICLE X.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

1. *M. T. Ciceronis Tusculanarum Quæstionum Libri Quinque. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ.* Cura C. K. DILLAWAY, A. M. 2 Vols. 12mo. M. Accii Plauti *Amphitruo et Aulularia. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ.* Cura C. K. DILLAWAY. 12mo. Philadelphia. Perkins & Purves. 1842.

The substance of these volumes is well known by most classical scholars, and little needs our commendation. The Tusculan Questions are an interesting exhibition of a pagan mind, groping by the light of nature after gospel truth. The doctrine of immortality, which heathen sages deemed probable, the revelation of the New Testament has brought to light. There is a dignity in the old Roman orator in these discussions, which inspires our respect, and an attractiveness which irresistibly bears us onward from page to page. It would be an interesting and profitable exercise for the professional classes, to devote a short time daily to the perusal of these volumes. It is a misfortune, that classical studies are nearly laid aside by our educated men, as soon as they leave college lecture-rooms. By a continued attention to these studies, the benefit to be expected from them might be continued and increased. The volumes before us are sufficiently tempting. They are printed on good, clear paper, with open type, and the notes appear to be judicious helps.

2. *The Age of Gold, and other Poems.* By GEORGE W. LUNT. Boston. W. D. Ticknor. pp. 160. 12mo.

The largest poem in this volume is the one which furnishes its title. There are twenty-five shorter pieces, besides. The first performance is

a reproof of the prevailing sin of the age, the inordinate desire of wealth. It is enough to say, that the poetry is generally exceedingly smooth, the language, chaste, the figures, apt and pure, and the execution of the book, of a high order.

3. *Mesopotamia and Assyria, from the earliest ages to the present time; with Illustrations of their Natural History.* By J. BAILLIE FRASER, Esq. With a Map and Engravings. Harper's Family Library, No. 157. pp. 336. 12mo.

The author of this work states in his preface, that he has endeavored to bring under one view all that is known of the history and aspect, moral, physical and political, of the provinces of Mesopotamia and Assyria; and to give, at the same time, a sketch of the causes that have produced the revolutions of which they have been the theatre. He has evidently had recourse to a large number of authorities, ancient and modern, of which he seems to have made judicious use. A part of the ground embraced in this subject has been more fully illuminated by works that have appeared since any of the writers to whom he has had access. His notions of the Nestorians, of whom Mr. Perkins has given us so full and interesting an account, are brief and confused. It is a hazardous undertaking, to attempt to condense so much important information into so small compass. Some things will be omitted which ought to be inserted; other things will be inserted, which might be spared; or an injudicious selection will be made, out of the mass of materials which offer themselves. Still it would be impossible, that such a book should be prepared with any degree of skill, and not be highly valuable.

4. *The Missionary Eclectic. A Repository of select Missionary Works, American and Foreign.* Edited by Rev. J. A. B. STONE and Rev. H. A. GRAVES. pp. 192. 8vo. Boston. William S. Damrell. January, 1843.

The conception of this work is to be attributed to the increase of missionary zeal, which has lately been experienced. The title sufficiently explains its object. It is to be published quarterly, in numbers of about 190 pages, at \$1,50 a year. It will contain such selections, abstracts, reviews, and original articles from British and American pens, as the editors may judge most conducive to the promotion of the missionary enterprise. The first number contains the first volume of the History of the English Baptist Missionary Society, by the Rev. F. A. Cox, D. D., LL. D., embracing the operations of that Society in the Eastern world; together with other missionary matter, original and selected. The second number will contain the remaining volume of Dr. Cox, which details the history of the English Baptist Society's missions in the West Indies. We should be recreant to our trust, if we did not highly commend, both the plan, and the manner in which it has thus begun to be prosecuted.

5. *Hints on Modern Evangelism, and on the Elements of a Church's Prosperity.* A Discourse by Rev. Dr. SHARP. Boston. W. D. Ticknor. pp. 24. 8vo. 1843.

This discourse was preached by Dr. S. to his own congregation in October last, and is published by their request. The text is Phil. 2: 2, 3. It is an honest and fearless declaration of the author's views of the subjects named in the title. Conscientiously differing from some of

his brethren, in reference to the former of the two topics, he has here avowed his dissent, and briefly enumerated the reasons of it. The age and experience of the venerated author, his zeal for the cause of truth and the welfare of the church, and his protracted and successful labors in the ministry, entitle his sentiments to sober and respectful consideration.

6. *Magazine of the recent History of Missionary and Bible Societies, Basle.* (Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der evangelischen Missions-und Bibelgesellschaften.)

This is the most complete and systematic missionary periodical which has ever been issued. It is a large quarterly publication, commenced at the Basle Missionary Institute, in 1816, by the lamented Dr. Blumhardt, and continued by him until his death, when Mr. W. Hoffmann, his successor in office as inspector, or director of the school, succeeded him as editor of the Magazine. Unlike ordinary missionary papers which publish items of missionary intelligence at frequent intervals, this work, in keeping with its more scientific and historical character, exhibits a connected and complete view of missionary operations, with maps and plates, treating of different countries successively, at intervals of several years. Dr. Blumhardt was one of the most intelligent and accomplished writers of missionary history. He was a man of great industry in his researches. Few men are qualified to complete his unfinished work on the early Christian missions, whose history he brought down only to the tenth century. It is an occasion of rejoicing, therefore, that such a man as Mr. Hoffmann could be found for a successor, who, in time, will probably be able more than to make up the loss. For though he has not yet read on the subject of missions so extensively as Blumhardt had done, his general scholarship and talents appear to be superior. Not only has he been a preacher, and a teacher of theology in Tübingen, but he is already distinguished as an author. His mind appears to have been early interested in the condition of the heathen. He studied the geography, history and religion of pagan nations so thoroughly as to be able to acquire considerable reputation as a writer on these subjects. If we may judge from his inaugural address, we may add, that in the deep and fervent tone of his piety, he is not unlike his predecessor. The view which he has given of the East India missions in three numbers of the Magazine for the year 1841, is generally regarded as the most elaborate and valuable to be found in the whole series. The reports and correspondence of the Bible societies are added as appendices, and occupy but a small part of each number. A missionary paper, more like ordinary missionary magazines, is issued in connection with the larger work. The 24th annual report for the year 1840, states that 158 missionaries have been educated in the school at Basle, of whom about one third had been sent out by the society of that place. The number still living at the various missionary stations was 109; and the number of students then at the schools, 42.

## ARTICLE XI.

## LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

## ENGLAND.

An association has been formed in London, under the name of the *Ælfric Society*, whose leading object is the cultivation of the Anglo-Saxon language and history. It is proposed to publish the monuments of this literature still extant, in a convenient form and correct text, accompanied by an English translation. The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church will constitute the first of the series, to be followed by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, works of king Alfred, lives of the saints, &c.

## GERMANY.

HÄVERNICK, who was appointed Professor of oriental languages, as successor of *Von Bohlen*, at Königsberg, has experienced, as is already known, much opposition there on account of his religious views. The following are the particulars in the case, as we find them stated in an authentic form, in a German periodical: On the 19th of January, a year since, Prof. Hävernicks held his usual public disputation; but, with the exception of his two opponents, not a single student was present. On the delivering of his first lecture the auditorium was crowded with hearers from all the faculties; but after Hävernicks had spoken a short time, was entirely deserted, although he had said nothing as yet to indicate the character of his sentiments. He had announced as the subjects on which he would lecture, 1. a historico-critical introduction to the canonical and apocryphal books of the Old Testament; 2. explanation of the prophecies of Zechariah; and 3. interpretation of the gospel of Matthew. He was unable, however, during the whole winter-semester, to form a class. Hävernicks predecessor, *Von Bohlen*, was a rationalist of the lowest order, as he has abundantly shown in his commentary on Genesis; and there was a strong party among the students at Königsberg, who demanded that his place should be filled by a man of the same spirit. The disappointment occasioned by the selection of Hävernicks, the pupil and personal friend of Hengstenberg and Tholuck, led to the difficulties above mentioned. We are happy to add, that since the preceding was written, things are said to have so far improved, that Prof. H. will probably be able to maintain his position.

Dr. H. A. F. AST died at Munich on the 31st of December, of the preceding year. He was born at Gotha, 1776, and has been a Professor in the University at Munich since 1826. He is best known in this country as the author of the *Lexicon Platonicum, seu Vocum Platoniarum Index*.

Prof. EWALD, of Tübingen, the Hebrew grammarian and orientalist, has been transferred from the faculty of Philosophy to that of Theology.

*Recent Publications.* Concordance of the Arabic Koran, arranged according to the order of the letters, and the roots of the words, by *Flügel*, from the press of Tauchnitz.—Hand-book of Latin etymology, by *L. Doedlein*, author of the very valuable and popular Manual on Latin Synonymy.—Critical Summary of the different views on the book of Jonah, with a new attempt at its explanation; second improved edition, by *Friedrichsen*.—Second edition of *Gervinus's* Manual of the history of the national poetic literature of the Germans,—being a compilation from the author's larger work, in five parts. No work on this subject enjoys at present greater public favor.—The first number of *H. E. G. Paulus's* Exegetical Manual of the three first Evangelists. *Foenum habet in cornu*, we might label this book; for it is nothing but Paulus's old work, Commentary on the New Testament, under a new title—a work in which rationalism, of the type which prevailed at the beginning of the present century, reached its culminating point in the criticism of the New Testament, as it did in the writings of Eichhorn in that of the Old. The third number of a new edition of all the works of Aristotle, under the care of *Weisse*, from the press of Tauchnitz.

During the last semester, Prof. Rödiger read lectures at Halle, from the chair of Gesenius, on the topics which that distinguished scholar announced before his



death. There have been many conjectures as to the question, who will be appointed the successor of G. We learn, by a private letter, that the theological faculty of Halle, by request of the ministry, have addressed inquiries to Hupfeld, of Marburg, asking him whether he will consent to accept the place.—Hengstenberg has just published the first volume of a commentary on the Psalms.—Two other volumes are to follow.—Tholuck is about to publish a practical commentary on the same.—An introduction to the New Testament has just appeared from the pen of Guericke, in Halle; also, a commentary on the book of Jeremiah, by Umbreit. Brockhaus has announced a new edition of the *Conversations-Lexicon*, in which every thing of importance in the supplements that have been published, is to be incorporated. All the most important articles are to be revised, which will make the publication a work of time. It will be comprised in 15 vols.—The fourth vol. of Erdmann's *History of Modern Philosophy*, embracing Leibnitz and the development of Idealism before the time of Kant, has appeared; also, a *History of the same* by Biedemann, in Leipzig.

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AMERICA.

Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, of Andover, have in preparation a translation of "The School Grammar of the Greek Language," by Raphael Kühner, conrector of the Lyceum at Hanover, in Germany. The author has published three Greek Grammars, of which the first is elementary, the third a very copious grammar in two volumes, and the second intermediate between the two. It is this latter work, which is to appear in an English dress. K. is remarkable for clearness of method and exactness of statement. The translators are B. B. Edwards and S. H. Taylor.

We learn, that it is determined to republish in this country, "A complete Concordance of all the words of the New Testament, on the basis of Schmid, but corrected and enlarged, to correspond with the present state of biblical criticism and hermeneutics, by Charles H. Bruder." It is stereotyped and published at Leipzig, by Tauchnitz. Part V. has just been received; only one part is now wanting.

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FRANCE.

M. Reinaud is on the eve of publishing the first volume of his translation of the *Arabic Geography of Abulfeda*.

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RUSSIA.

We see it stated in the second volume of Kohl's "Russia and the Russians in 1842," just published in England, that great attention is paid to education in Russia. The number of governesses and private tutors employed in St. Petersburg, is stated to be about 6,000, and the salaries paid them are very high. In general, they run from 3,000 to 4,000 rubles, and in some cases, they rise to 6,000 and even 10,000; especially when an effort is made to entice away teachers to Siberia, or to a remote province. When an engagement expires, an annuity is commonly settled upon the teacher, or instead of this, from 30,000 to 50,000 rubles are given at once; so that French governesses often receive better salaries than professors in Germany. Schools in St. Petersburg are almost as numerous for females as for males. The greatest institution for females has 300 scholars, mostly from noble families. Instruction is given in French and German, and in the fine arts and sciences. The expenses of the institution are 700,000 rubles a year. The Russians, however, generally prefer private instruction.

## QUARTERLY LIST.

## DEATHS.

RUFUS BABCOCK, sen., Colebrook, Conn.,  
Nov. 4, aged 84.  
ASA BENNETT (licentiate), Homer, N. Y.,  
Dec. 20.  
ISAAC CHILD, Goshen, Mass., Dec. 24, aged  
54.  
MEREDITH W. COFFEY, Chambersburg, Ill.,  
Oct. 30.  
NEHEMIAH DODGE, New London, Conn.,  
Jan. 3, aged 73.  
JOSHUA HALBERT, Tuscaloosa Co., Ala.,  
Oct. 26.  
WILLIAM HODGE, River Head, L. I., Jan 17,  
aged 53.  
JAMES HOOPER, Paris, Me., Dec. 24, aged  
74.  
JOSEPH H. MELVIN, Knox, Me., Nov. 22,  
aged 24.  
JAMES C. SENTER, Gisborne Co., Tenn.,  
Sept. 29, aged 36.  
DANIEL C. WAIT, Lansing, Tompkins Co.,  
N. Y., Nov. 3, aged 30.  
JOHN H. WILDER, Chesterfield Co., Va.,  
Nov. 11, aged 50.

## ORDINATIONS.

J. NELSON ADAMS, Hartwick, Otsego Co.,  
N. Y., Nov. 16.  
JOHN J. BAKER, Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 19.  
MARTIN T. BIBB, Maple Creek, Amherst  
Co., Va., Nov. 14.  
J. A. BULLARD, Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 20.  
JOHNSON BURBANK, Jefferson, Me., Dec. 16.  
DUNCAN R. CAMPBELL, Richmond, Va. Dec.  
16.  
GURDON D. CHAPPEL, Waterford, Conn.,  
Dec. 8.  
JAMES L. COFFIN, Middlebury, Tioga Co.,  
Pa., Sept. 15.  
W. H. DOUGLASS, Palmyra, Wayne Co., N.  
Y., Jan. 18.  
B. P. DRAKE, Cane Run, Fayette Co., Ky.,  
Dec. 24.  
WILLIAM ELLIOTT, Rochester, Iowa Ter.,  
Oct. 30.  
WILLIAM FLINT, North Stonington, Conn.,  
Jan. 10.  
JOSEPH C. FOSTER, Brattleborough, Vt.,  
Jan. 19.  
RICHARD M. GLASCOCK, Mathews, Va., Oct.  
24.  
— GRAVES, Jessamine Co., Ky., Nov.  
26.  
ELLIS B. HALL, Bordentown, N. J., Dec. 29.  
GEORGE W. HARRIS, Pittsfield, Mass., Jan.  
JOSEPH HATT, Orange, N. Y., Jan. 3.  
ANDREW HOPPER, Southington, Conn.,  
Nov. 30.  
JOHN HUBBARD, Jr., Cornish, Me., Nov. 10.  
JOHN JACKSON, Floyd Co., Ind., Nov.  
THOS. JEFFERSON (col'd), Phila., Dec. 26.  
JOHN W. KINNEY, Paris, Ky., Dec. 3.  
CHRISTOPHER LEFFINGWELL, Bozrah, Ct.,  
Nov. 30.  
CHARLES C. LEWIS, Key West, Florida,  
Dec. 20.  
WILLIAM R. MAYBURY, Baltimore, Md.  
P. H. MELL, Professor in the Mercer Uni-  
versity, Ga., Nov. 19.  
JAMES S. MIMS, Society Hill, S. C.  
PRENTICE T. PALMER, Newtown, Fountain  
Co., Ind., Sept 17.

A. L. L. POTTER, Evans, Erie Co., N. Y.,  
Nov. 16.  
J. P. ROBERTS, St. Albans, Me., Dec. 8.  
— ROLAND, Jessamine Co., Ky., Nov. 26.  
E. SAWYER, Henderson, Jefferson Co., N.  
Y., Dec. 27.  
JAMES SCOTT, New York, N. Y., Nov. 30.  
CYRUS SHOOK, Saugerties, N. Y., Nov. 24.  
GEORGE SLEEPER, Huntington, Ind., Oct.  
30.  
C. B. SMITH, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 5.  
ARZA STONE, Cherry Creek, Chatauque  
Co., N. Y., Jan. 4.  
AARON STOWELL, Factoryville, Tioga Co.,  
N. Y., Nov. 23.  
RICHARD THOMPSON, New York, N. Y., Jan.  
19.  
ISAAC WADE, West Troupsburg, N. Y.,  
Jan. 8.  
M. T. WADSWORTH, Leon, Cataaugus Co.,  
N. Y., Jan. 25.  
J. H. WORRELL, Rush, Northumberland  
Co., Pa.

## CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Galena, Ill. (colored), April 26.  
Elkhart, Elkhart Co., Mich., Aug. 4.  
Salem, Desoto Co., Miss., Aug. 20.  
Bear Creek, Franklin Co., Ala., Oct. 5.  
Chatham, Tioga Co., Pa., Oct. 5.  
Bradley City, Tenn., Oct. 8.  
Rosendale, Ulster Co., N. Y., Oct. 15.  
Johnstown, N. Y., Nov. 3.  
Middleburgh, O., Nov. 16.  
Russellville, Ky., Nov. 27.  
Danville, Columbia Co., Pa., Nov. 29.  
Mt. Harmony, Tenn., Nov.  
Wilkesbarre, Pa., Dec. 7.  
Wyoming Valley, Pa., Dec. 17.  
Stone Creek, Huntingdon Co., Pa., Dec. 21.  
Mt. Pleasant, Henderson Co., Ky., Dec. 25.  
Laight St. chh., New York, N. Y., Dec. 29.  
Mellville, Cumberland Co., N. J., Dec. 29.  
Florence, Missouri, Dec. 31.  
10th church, Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 2.  
2d church, East Lyme, Conn., Jan. 12.  
Marcy, Oneida Co., N. Y., Jan 13.  
West Troupsburg, N. Y.  
Farmington, Pa., Jan. 18.

## DEDICATIONS.

Madison, Lake Co., O., Aug. 11.  
Albany, Vt., Nov. 10.  
Cornish, Me., Nov. 10.  
Salvisa, Mercer Co., Ky., Nov. 11.  
Amsterdam, N. Y., Nov. 18.  
Gorham and Middlesex, N. Y., Nov. 24.  
Bethel, Ontario Co., N. Y., Nov. 24.  
South Bainbridge, N. Y., Nov. 30.  
Woodgrove, Morgan Co., O., Nov.  
Randolph, Mass., Dec. 1.  
Harvard St. chh., Boston, Mass., Dec. 8.  
Pawtucket, R. I., 1st church, Dec. 14.  
Sloansville, Schoharie Co., N. Y., Dec. 14.  
Rosendale, Ulster Co., N. Y., Dec.  
Barre, Mass., Dec. 21.  
Chatham, Mass., Dec. 22.  
West Windsor, Richland Co., O., Dec.  
Laight St. chh., New York, N. Y., Ja n.  
2d church, Livermore, Me., Jan. 3.  
Marlborough, N. H., Jan. 4.  
Plainfield, Conn., Jan. 4.  
Warsaw, Wyoming Co., N. Y., Jan. 18.